CHAPTER IV

Fort Leavenworth and the Mexican War

From time to time, in the years immediately preceding the Mexican War, rumors had reached the Post of the trouble brewing to the south, in Texas and Mexico. The success of Sam Houston in withdrawing Texas from the sovereignty of Mexico; the recognition of Texas as an independent State by the United States and by several European powers; Texas' request to be admitted into the Union—all had long been topics of conversation, even in the remote districts of the Indian country. The election of James K. Polk to the Presidency of the United States brought matters to a climax. He favored both the annexation of Texas as a slave State and the reoccupation of Oregon. The latter territory was too far north for the development of slavery, but its inclusion as an item in the platform of the Democratic party at this time was coupled with that of Texas, in order to make the acquisition of this slave State more acceptable to the north. Inasmuch as Polk was a pro-slavery man, it became evident at once that he would favor the request of Texas for admission as a slave State. The matter was speedily concluded and on July 4, 1845, Texas became a State on her own terms. This action on the part of the United States immediately precipitated the trouble which had been feared. The United States and Texas both contended that the new State extended as far south as the Rio Grande. This river had been the southern limit of Texas in 1800 when Spain ceded it to France, and also when the United States acquired it from France in 1803 as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. As a part of Mexico, however, the State boundaries of Texas had reached only as far south as the Nueces River, and Mexico refused to recognize any other boundary. President Polk decided to insist upon the Rio Grande line and ordered General Zachary Taylor, who was already in Texas with 4000 men, to cross the Nueces and advance to the Rio Grande. Retaliation immediately followed and war was declared.

In May, 1846, Congress authorized the President to call 50,000 volunteers for the purpose of operating against Mexico. These forces were to be organized—the Army of Occupation, the Army of the Centre, and the Army of the West. The latter force was to direct its march upon the city of Santa Fe. The original plan was, however, somewhat changed, and General Stephen W. Kearney, who commanded the Army of the West, divided his troops into three separate bodies. He proposed to lead the first command in person to Santa Fe from there to the Pacific coast. One force of a thousand volunteers was to march into the State of Chihuahua under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan, while the remainder and greater part of the troops, under Colonel Sterling Price, was to march to Santa Fe after its capture, and garrison it while General Kearney proceeded to California.

It was with the Army of the West that we are especially concerned, for Fort Leavenworth was designated as the outfitting post for the expedition. This Army of the West, with the exception of a small force of Regular dragoons, was made up entirely of Volunteer troops from the State of Missouri. There were two light batteries from St. Louis, one battalion of infantry from Cole and Platte Counties, one separate company known as the LaClede Rangers, and the First Missouri Mounted Volunteers. The entire force numbered 1658 men. The Regular dragoons were under the command of Major E. V. Sumner; the First Missouri Mounted Volunteers was led by Colonel A. W. Doniphan; one company of infantry and one battery of artillery was commanded by Major M. L. Clarke, and two companies of infantry were under Captain W. Z. Angney. Accompanying the expedition were fifteen Delaware and Shawnee Indians and a party of United States topographical engineers under Lieutenant W. H. Emory. Emory accompanied the advance guard of the expedition, and his reconnaissance in New Mexico and California furnished a topographical map of the route of march and a very interesting and exhaustive report upon the many unusual things that were to be seen along the route.

General Kearney's army of sturdy young Missourians was organized quickly, equipped, and made ready for its long and difficult march. "The practicability of marching a large

army," said Major Henry Inman in his *Old Santa Fe Trail,* "over the waste, uncultivated, uninhabited prairie regions of the West was universally regarded as problematical."

With June 26, came the day of the start. We can picture the crowds of men, women, and children who came from all the country round to bid their relatives and friends goodbye. There were many patriotic addresses and presentations of flags and banners. There was much excitement which appears to have communicated itself to the mounts, for Inman says, "The horses were generally wild, fiery, and unused to military trappings and equipments. Amidst the fluttering of banners, the soundings of bugles, the rattlings of artillery, the clattering of sabres and also of cooking utensils, some of them took fright and scampered pell-mell over the wide prairie." The crowd watched the last of the marching columns wind out of the Post toward the Great Plains and a foreign war, and then they turned thoughtfully homeward without seeing the last of the great supply train of 500 pack mules, 1550 covered wagons, and many hundred of beef cattle.

The march proved to be a hard one. Major William A. Ganoe in his *History of the United States Army* says that "those in advance had to break their way through the roughest of country. After passing over unwooded areas where cooking was largely impossible, where water was brackish, the way uphill, the mosquitoes and gnats scurrilous, the food scarce, the scurvy prevalent, the whole command found itself on the Arkansas at Bent's Fort.

Finally on the 18th day of August 1846, after a tiresome march of 900 miles in less than 50 days, General Kearney with his whole command entered the city of Santa Fe where he raised the Stars and Stripes and declared Santa Fe to be under the government of the United States.

Colonel Doniphan remained in Santa Fe until November when he led the Missouri Mounted Volunteers into the Navajo Indian country. Having accomplished the object of this expedition, he returned to the Rio del Norte. Reinforced by two batteries of light artillery, in December, 1846, he turned to the south and marched on Chihuahua. Then followed, in quick succession, his victories of Brazito and Sac-

ramento, the capture of Chihuahua, the march of his forces through the unknown country between Chihuahua and Saltillo, and his triumphal arrival at the latter city. While in Saltillo, the terms of the men's enlistments began to run out, so the march of the regiment was continued to Matamoras, from which port it went by ship to New Orleans. Here the men of the regiment were discharged, finally arriving in Missouri on July 1, 1847.

The march of this regiment from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Saltillo, and Matamoras, a distance of nearly 3600 miles, is known in history as "Doniphan's expedition." In his report of 1847, the Secretary of War said of the expedition: "This adventurous march by Colonel Doniphan and his small and gallant command, of more than one thousand miles through a hostile country, in the course of which two battles were fought against vastly superior numbers, and decisive victories won with great loss on the part of the enemy and almost bloodless on ours, is an achievement to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of military operations."

In the meantime, affairs at the Post were moving forward rapidly. So pleased was the Government with the speed shown in the preparation of the first expedition, that the work of outfitting a second expedition (to reinforce General Kearney) was begun at once. The second force was placed under the command of Colonel Sterling Price, who had resigned his seat in Congress to accept the command of the Second Missouri Volunteers. While this work was going on, Lieutenant Colonel James Allen of the 1st Dragoons organized a battalion of Mormons at Council Bluffs and marched them to Fort Leavenworth to become a part of General Price's command. This force of Mormons set out for Santa Fe about August 1 without Colonel Allen, who remained behind to look after some supplies, intending to join in a few days. He was taken ill suddenly, however, and died on August 23. The Mormon battalion fell to the command of Lieutenant Colonel A. J. Smith. Colonel Price and some of the members of his staff arrived at Santa Fe on September 28, 1848, three days after General Kearney had departed for California to complete the conquest of northwest-

ern Mexico. The last of Colonel Price's forces however did not arrive at Santa Fe until the 12th of October.

For the remainder of the period of the Mexican War, Fort Leavenworth never was without the stir of moving troops. About July 1, 1847, a regiment of volunteer infantry, raised in Illinois, was brought to the Post to be outfitted and then to be sent out to relieve Colonel Price's men at Santa Fe, whose terms of enlistment were about to expire. In August, a battalion of infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Alton Easton and a regiment of cavalry, all Missouri Volunteers, left for the front. On September 5, a separate battalion of Missouri Mounted Volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel Ludwelle Powell left the Fort for duty in connection with the construction of a cordon of military posts on the Oregon route from western Missouri to Oregon Territory. On October 4, Major William Gilpin's battalion of five companies of Missouri Mounted Volunteers left to help maintain communications with New Mexico which was greatly disturbed by depredations of the Indians. William E. Connelley, in an article on *Doniphan's Expedition* tells a story that is enlightening as to the methods employed in the early days when men were confronted with the official procedure of the military and things moved too slowly for the spirit of the frontier. For some reason, Colonel Clifton Wharton, of the 1st Dragoons, then in command at Fort Leavenworth refused to supply Major Gilpin with the supplies and transportation, which the latter thought necessary. Thereupon, Major Gilpin is said to have challenged the Colonel to a duel. There is no record of the duel having been fought, but since the expedition moved out shortly afterward with five hundred cattle, fifteen wagons of ammunition, and two hundred wagons of commissaries, it is reasonable to suppose that the matter was adjusted by arbitration.

Although the Mexican War came to an end in February, 1848, Fort Leavenworth did not assume again its former status as an obscure frontier station. Expeditions of various sorts continued to be sent out with considerable regularity, and numerous Indian councils were held at the Fort. In May, 1848, a small body of recruits, seventy-six in number, composed of country lads from the back woods of Missouri, left the Post under Lieutenant W. B. Royall, to fill up the

decimated ranks of the Santa Fe Battalion which was then in Chihuahua. It was this little group that engaged in a skirmish with a large band of Comanche and Apache Indians near the present Kinsley, Kansas and routed them. The skirmish is commonly called, "The Battle of Coon Creek."

A conference of the Northwesten Confederacy of Indians was held at the Fort in October, of this same year. This conference is of special interest because it marked the beginning of the trouble which was to result in the further removal of the Indians and in the final adjustment of the ten year struggle to pass the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

By the treaty of 1829, it was solemnly decreed that the lands assigned to the Indians at the time should never become a part of any State or Territoy. In less than fifteen years, however, there was a demand that the Indian lands be opened to settlement. The Government, not unwilling to recognize the voice of the people, in 1844, through Secretary of War Wilkinson, reported to Congress that under the protection of the Government, the Indians had become so much improved and were so rapidly changing their condition that he believed them entitled to higher consideration. He stated that he thought they now could well enjoy our institutions to their own moral and intellectual betterment, and suggested that the system of guardianship hitherto maintained in their behalf be discontinued. With this suggestion came a proposal to mark the boundaries of a new Territory which should include the present limitations of Kansas and Nebraska and that this new Territory should be called Nebraska. In December of the same year, Mr. Stephen A. Douglas introduced in Congress a bill providing for the organization of such a Territory.

The Indians were much disturbed by this action of Congress and the conference was called for the purpose of discussing the situation. The tribes represented were the Wyandottes, the Shawnees, the Delawares, the Pottawatomies, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Peorias, and the Miamis. It was in reality a peaceful demonstration of Indian tribes which had moved to this section of the country under the treaty of 1829, to protest against the proposed legislation. These tribes were uneasy because they foresaw that their treaty rights would be violated. Nothing

of importance came of this conference, but the tribes reorganized their confederacy, included the Kansas and the Kickapoos, and entered their protest against the action which had been taken. This Indian confederacy already had been in existence more than a hundred years among the tribes of the East.

Cholera made its appearance at the Post during the year 1848. It had been brought to New Orleans in its most malignant form, and from that city had moved up the rivers by means of the streamers. In his report for the third quarter of the year, the post surgeon remarks that "the whole command has been more or less affected with diarrhoea, which has prevailed extensively thoughout the country; perhaps more to an epidemic constitution of the atmosphere than the usual causes." During the next few years, cases often were reported. In explanation of the frequent occurence of the disease at Fort Leavenworth, it must be borne in mind that the Post was used as a depot for supplies and a rendezvous for troops on the march to Mexico and to stations on the Great Plains. Reports indicate that the disease was brought by troops from St. Louis, most of the commands having suffered from it while ascending the Missouri River.

On May 31, 1849, Captain Howard Stansburg of the Army, was sent from Fort Leavenworth to explore and survey the vicinity of Great Salt Lake in Utah, a necessity probably caused by the tremendous migration of the Mormons from Illinois during the year. A detachment of Mounted Rifles under Colonel William W. Loring was sent to investigate the land around the Columbia River in Oregon where hundreds of people planned to make their future homes. During this year of 1849, Mormons, homesteaders, members of military expeditions, and gold diggers on their way to California, formed a mighty stream which flowed through and around the Post. The beginning of the main Oregon Trail was in the vicinity of Gardner, a few miles west of Olathe, Kansas, where a road sign indicated that the "Road to Oregon" branched from the Santa Fe Trail. From Gardner the Oregon Trail let northwestward, crossed the Kaw River west of the present site of Topeka, and then continued toward the northwest. Captain Philip St. George

Cooke described the following route for reaching the main Oregon Trail from the Fort in 1848: "For two days the trails were followed along the Missouri River; the third day, they turned into the Prairie due west. On the sixth day, having marched ninety miles, a south turn was made crossing the Plateau between the two branches of the Blue River. On the seventh day a turn northwest brought you to the emigrant wagons." In 1849 a well worn branch trail ran just west of the Post. Sometimes, the Government travel crossed the river at the Fort, went up the east side to a point opposite the mouth of the Platte River and thence up the Platte.

Colonel E. V. Sumner was in command of the Post during the year, 1849. One of the recruits of the year gives us a vivid picture of life at the Fort during that period. Even the method of reaching Fort Leavenworth was by no means easy. All recruits assigned to the dragoons were sent first to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for mounted training, and when ready to join their different stations in the West, were sent by the following route: from Carlisle to Harrisburg by rail, from Harrisburg to a point in the Alleghanies by canal, over the mountains to St. Johnsburg by marching, from St. Johnsburg to Pittsburg by canal, from Pittsburg down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi to St. Louis by steamboat, and from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth also by steamboat, provided they were lucky enough to arrive at St. Louis before the winter stopped the river traffic. In the case of the recruit mentioned above (the late Percival G. Lowe, of Leavenworth), matters did not turn out very well. In his book, *Five Years a Dragoon,* published in 1905, Mr. Lowe says that when a steamboat from St. Louis reached Portland, Missouri, it was frozen in and the entire company of recruits had to march over ice and snow from Portland to Fort Leavenworth by such a circuitous route that it made the march fully three hundred miles long. The particular company of men with which Lowe came was probably a fair sample of the general quality of recruits at that time. Lowe himself was a New England farmer's son whose reading of tales of adventure caused him to go to Boston and enlist with the mounted service so that he would be sure to see the Indians, the buffalo, and the traders about which he had read so much. In the company of recruits which came with Lowe to

Fort Leavenworth, there was "an Irishman who had been compelled to leave his country after the riots of 1848, a broken down Englishman, a graduate of Dublin College, a draftsman, a lawyer, a man who had failed in business in Kentucky, and a Senator's son, to say nothing of the usual crowd of roughs and bullies, who are always looking for a change."

Lowe states that the recruits found at the Post what seemed to them very comfortable quarters. Their principal duty was to escort parties of traders during the summer, coming back to spend the winter at the Fort. They considered themselves very comfortable with bed sacks filled once a month with prairie hay which they called "prairie feathers," a pair of soldier blankets, and an overcoat which did duty as a pillow. When fuel was scarce, they cut and hauled wood from the north end of the reservation. A few barrels sawed in two and placed in the company kitchens between supper and tattoo satisfactorily served the purpose of bath tubs.

By way of amusement, the enlisted men had an annual ball, which required much preparation and many trips across the river to Weston for supplies, for the City of Leavenworth was still a few years in the future; and inasmuch as Leavenworth was the first town established in the Territory of Kansas, trading was necessarily done in Missouri. Lowe describes Westen as no small place at this time. It was the outfitting and starting place of a great many of the caravans; it boasted of several thousand inhabitants; and it had a City Club at which the people of the Post were glad to be entertained.

Several of the enlisted men had their families with them. A great deal of the domestic service was performed by Indian women who lived in the vicinity, and were either the wives of Indians, traders, or descendants of the early French settlers who had never left the Plains. A dramatic club was organized under the name of "The Thespian Society," and its members were enlisted men who played all the parts. The plays furnished considerable amusement for the entire garrison and they were frequently repeated during the winter in the assembly room of the barracks.

To Percival Lowe we are indebted for the following description of Fort Leavenworth as it looked in 1849:* "At the corner of what is now Kearney Avenue and Sumner place, the south end on Kearney Avenue and the west front on Sumner Place stood a two-story brick building with wide front porches above and below, used as dragoon quarters.—Immediately north of this, fronting the same way was a similar building. Running east from the southeast corner of the first mentioned building was a stone wall with port holes looking south. A two-story block house stood a little south of the east end of the wall. Southeast of the block house, about where the post chapel now stands, was the sutler's store, kept by Colonel Hiram Rich. * * * South of the store was the parsonage. * * * The house was of logs. * * * A little way from the parsonage and across what is now Scott Avenue was the residence of Colonel Rich. Southeast of that was the home of the veteran Ordnance Sergeant Fleming. At the northeast corner of what is now Sumner Place, stood a one-story and basement building fronting west and used as officers' quarters. On the opposite corner, north side, fronting south on Sumner Place and the parade ground was another building used as officers' quarters, since rebuilt and much enlarged. West of that was the best building of the Post, then the Commanding Officer's quarters, very much the same in appearance as it is now, though it has been enlarged and improved from time to time. Between the Commanding Officer's quarters and the northwest corner of what is now Sumner Place, fronting south toward the parade ground, were four or five buildings used as officers' quarters. West of the parade ground, on what is now McClellan Avenue, fronting east, were four or five one-story and basement buildings, generally used as quarters for soldiers' families and citizen employees. Between the first above mentioned brick buildings [dragoon barracks] and the south end of the west row of buildings stood a row of log stables (along the south side of the Main Parade). The main entrance was in the end fronting south on what is now Kearney Avenue and which was then a thoroughfare from the steamboat landing and

*See diagram on page 73.

leading west out on the Plains. Each stable was about thirty-six by one hundred feet. Immediately north of these stables, south of the middle of the parade ground was a

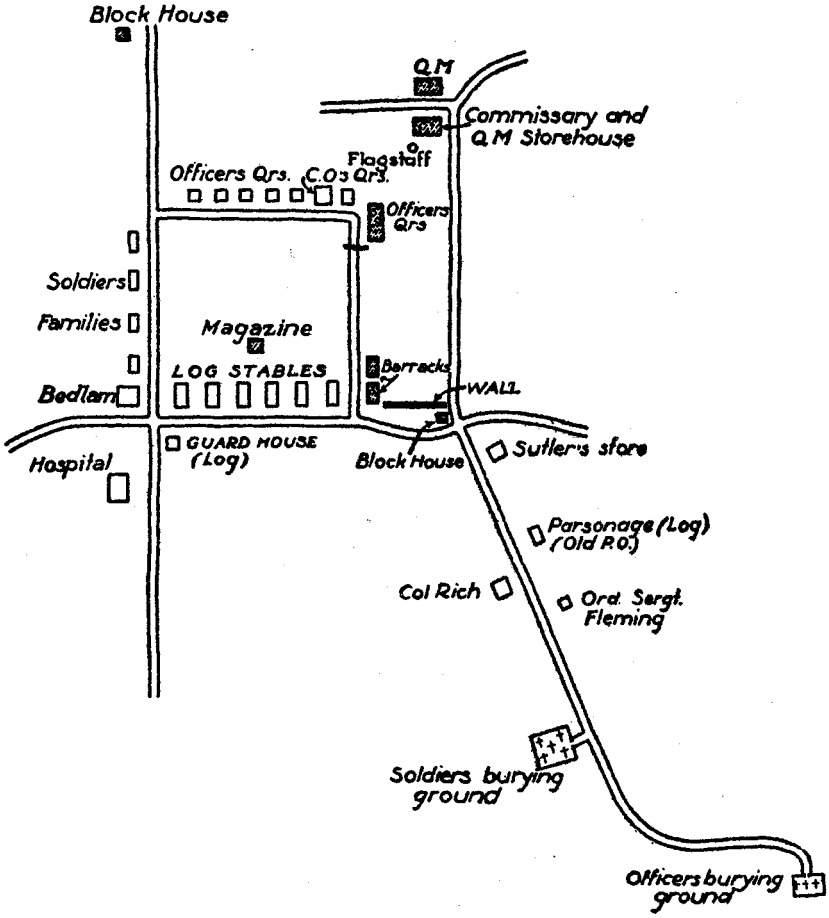
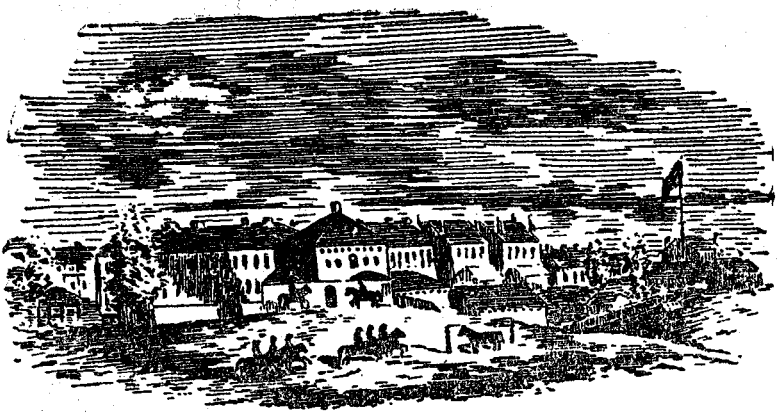


Diagram of Locations of Fort Leavenworth Buildings about 1849.

(Developed from a description of the Post contained in Mr. Percival Lowe's *Five Years a Dragoon.*)

magazine, mostly underground, over which a sentinel was always posted. West of the line of stables, at the south end of the west line of buildings stood 'Bedlam,' a large two-story frame building with front and back porches and stone basement. It was the quarters of unmarried officers, with

an officers' mess attached. Southeast of 'Bedlam' about one hundred yards stood the guard house, an unmerciful dungeon, stone basement, and heavy log superstructure. Southwest of the guardhouse and south of 'Bedlam' stood the hospital, built of brick, with porches all around and quite comfortable. On the ridge, about where the riding school [Upper Riding Hall] now is, was a block house similar to the one before mentioned. Where the hop-room now is [Pope Hall], stood a one-story building used as Commissary



The Old Block House.

(Flag-staff and Quartermaster bulidings at the right in vicinity of the present U. S. D. B. Dragoons barracks back of the block house.)

and Quartermaster store rooms and offices. A little northwest of this, a two-story stone building now embraced in a military prison was built in 1850 and used as quartermaster's stores and offices. Still farther north, covering the ground beyond the buildings now comprising the south front of the military prison were a few homes of employees, blacksmith, carpenter, saddler, and other shops, and quartermaster stables and corrals. Also scattered here and there were a few small houses; at the steamboat landing a warehouse. The flag-staff and the sun dial stood just south of the west end of the present hop-room. There was generally a sentinel posted there."

In 1850, Major E. J. Ogden, the Quartermaster, was ordered to lay a road from Fort Leavenworth to intercept the

THE DEPARTMENT COMMANDER'S HOUSE ABOUT 1870
(Originally a small house occupied by Post Sutler *Hiram Rich*. Now a two-story building.)

ENTRANCE TO UNDERGROUND MAGAZINE ON MAIN PARADE, 1869

MAP OF THE WESTERN UNITED STATES

Showing the general routes of the Santa Fe and the Oregon Trails and their principal branches, together with the locations of some of the early military and trading posts and forts.

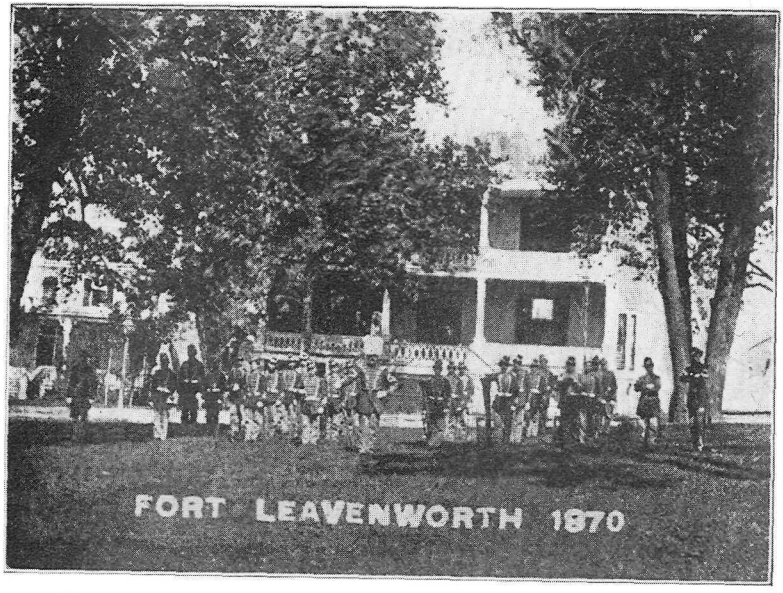
0 500 1000 miles

St. Joseph road. An escort was sent out with a surveying party with the additional duty of escorting a number of officers and their families who were on their way to Forts Kearney and Laramie. During the year, the military road was marked out from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney. These escort duties lasted many months and often followed one another very closely.

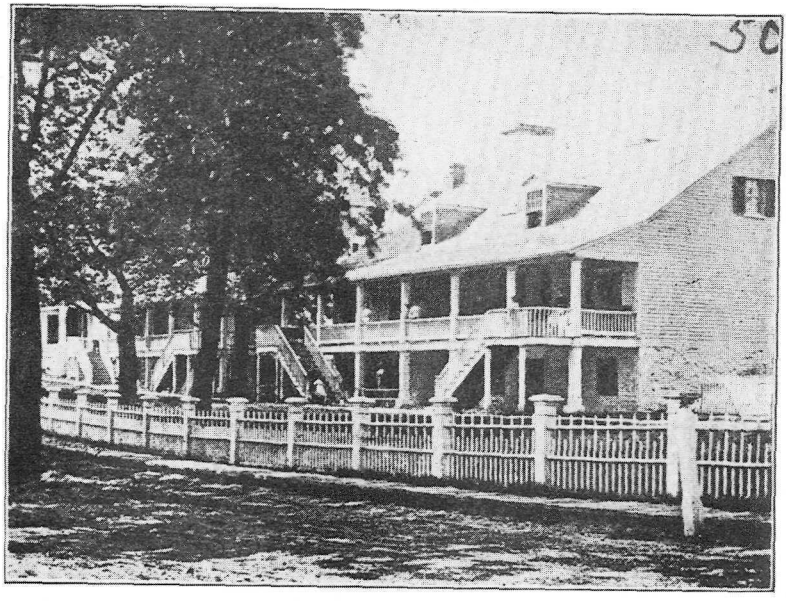
In 1851, the escorts were particularly busy. In January, Major Robert H. Chilton, with fifty men, was sent to Council Grove where a conference was to be held with the Kaw Indians. Some idea of the hardships endured during a trip of this sort at this season can be imagined when it is realized that overshoes, mittens, gloves, leggins, or extra wraps were not provided by the Government at this time, nor did the Government offer them for sale. The men improvised these articles out of old pieces of canvas, blankets, and cast off clothing. In addition to this, some further idea of the difficulties of such a trip may be derived, when it is brought to one's mind that there was no house between Fort Leavenworth and Pappan's Kaw River ferry (near present site of Topeka) and no house between the ferry and Council Grove. In April of the same year, the dragoons again were sent out to escort Paymaster Sackfield Macklin, who carried several month's pay for Fort Kearney (three hundred miles distant) and Fort Laramie (three hundred and fifty miles from Fort Kearney). On the return trip, they escorted from Fort Laramie, Mrs. Rhett, wife of Captain Thomas G. Rhett, with her two small children and a servant, the family traveling the entire distance in a light wagon drawn by a four mule team. While these troops were with the Paymaster, Troop B, from Fort Leavenworth, was ordered to Fort Atkinson in southern Kansas to relieve a company of the 6th Infantry that had been surrounded by Kiowas and Comanches. Both organizations returned in July and were halted on the West End Parade, as seems to have been the custom after each escort (sometimes Salt Creek Valley was chosen), to be addressed by their Commanding Officer who felt the advisability of thanking them for their good services on the march and warning them against the evils of whiskey drinking. In a week's time, Troop K was again on the march to Laramie where a conference of Indians was to

be held. This time the troop served as escort to Colonel D. D. Mitchell who was accompanied by Colonel Samuel Cooper, Adjutant General of the Army, Colonel George Knap of the *Missouri Republican,* and Mr. D. Grantz Brown, who was a correspondent of the *Republican.* At the conclusion of this conference an important treaty was perfected between the Sioux, Snakes, Cheyennes, and the Arapahoes, who thereafter never seriously troubled the United States. In a very few days after the arrival of the troops at Fort Leavenworth from this escort, troops were ordered to Fort Union to guard the Paymaster who was paying off the Pottawatomie Indians. The troops were gone two weeks. On their return they went into winter quarters. During this summer alone, one corporal rode three thousand one hundred miles on horseback. Two others rode two thousand seven hundred each, and the rest rode at least two thousand one hundred miles—a somewhat strenuous summer's work. In 1852, the Commanding Officer, Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, recommended the discontinuance of Fort Leavenworth, Fort Scott, Fort Atkinson, and Fort Kearney and the establishment of a new post where Fort Riley now stands. The recommendation was not entirely followed, but Fort Riley was established the following year, and was built under the direction of Major E. A. Ogden and assistants sent out from Fort Leavenworth.

Fort Leavenworth had now come to the close of another period of its history. No longer unknown, of considerable importance to the Government in spite of the recommendation of the Commanding Officer, it now took its place as an onlooker while the new Territory of Kansas was organized The Territory must have seemed almost crowded to the people of the Post as they watched the great numbers of men, women, and children swarming into the new country to find homes for themselves. The towns of Leavenworth, Kickapoo, and Atchison sprang up almost overnight, and isolation for the Post was at an end. Together with all this, there came the faint rumblings of the storm of 1861-1865, the suggestion of what was to follow, especially in this part of the United States where feeling ran high and primitive methods were still in force. It was a period of tense excitement and interest.



READY FOR GUARD MOUNT IN FRONT OF THE COMMANDING OFFICER'S QUARTERS IN 1870
(Building is on north side of main parade.)



EARLIEST PERMANENT QUARTERS IN THE POST
(Log houses covered with clapboards. Stood on north side of Main Parade.)

CHAPTER V

Fort Leavenworth and Territorial Kansas

The years from 1852 to 1861 at Fort Leavenworth were crowded with events of national character and importance. At first, the Post was on the edge, and later in the very center of a contest which threatened the existence of the Nation. During this period of agitation over questions of slavery and State's rights, the garrison continued in the performance of its normal duties—now actively engaged in the protection of the frontier, now escorting bodies of troops to the more remote stations of the West, and from time to time straightening out the tangled boundaries between Government and Indian claims. It is noticeable that there is little record concerning the sentiments and convictions of officers and soldiers at the Post during this period of violent discussion. There seems to have been present that spirit of non-partisanship and self-control which has always characterized our Army in its dealings with difficult situations involving the welfare of the Nation.

The year 1853 was marked by great interest on the part of the United States in transportation improvements in the West. In March, Congress authorized the President to ascertain by exploration and survey the most practical and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. As a consequence, the War Department directed the survey of several routes, and designatd Fort Leavenworth as the point of departure of an expedition under Captain J. W. Gunnison of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. This surveying group started west on June 23, 1853, and reached Salt Lake City on September 8.

Another event which occupied the attention of the garrison was the founding of a neighboring military post farther to the west. Colonel T. T. Fountleroy, Commanding Officer at Fort Leavenworth, stated his belief that a military station one hundred and fifty miles westward on the banks of the Kansas River, which he believed to be navigable, would

not only be in the interest of the military service, but also a great advantage to the heavy westward migration, since it would permit the transportation of military supplies by water. A board of officers was appointed to select a suitable site. The board finally made its report recommending that the new post be established on the Kansas River at its junction with the Republican Fork. The new post was named Fort Riley in honor of Major Bennett Riley, who, in 1829, led the first military escort to accompany a caravan across the Plains to Santa Fe. It is interesting to note that both Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth developed great Army schools for the training of commissioned officers. Located closer to the areas of Indian troubles, Fort Riley soon took over most of the work of mounted expeditions against the hostile tribes. For a time it looked as if Colonel Fauntleroy's recommendation to the War Department might lead to the abandonment of Fort Leavenworth, but the Secretary of War, Jefferson C. Davis, visualized the future importance of the Fort. He refused to consider abandoning it and later informed Congress that it was desirable to retain it as a "main depot and cavalry station." The convenience of Fort Leavenworth to Missouri River transportation, no railroads having yet reached into Kansas, made the retention of Fort Leavenworth especially desirable.

The establishment of Fort Riley in 1853 brought about the first organized road building in the Kaw River valley. The Government appropriated funds, and the Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley military road was constructed under the direction of Major E. A. Ogden. This road left the Post by a route which is now just in rear of the National Cemetery. It crossed Stranger Creek at Easton (the Little village where was first named after General Lucien J. Eastin, Editor and part owner of the Leavenworth *Herald,* and later changed to honor Governor Reeder's home town of Easton, Pennsylvania). From Easton the road continued through the present town of Winchester. Bridge building was involved at the crossing of Grasshopper (now Delaware) Creek at Ozawkie and at the crossing of Soldier Creek about four miles north of Topeka. From this point, the Fort Riley road continued along the north bank of the Kaw River, and a branch road crossed the Kaw at Pappan's

Ferry (near Topeka) and joined the Santa Fe Trail just east of Council Grove.

J. B. Chapman, who founded a town called "Whitfield City" about a mile and a half northwest of the present city of Topeka speaks as follows of the roads leading from Fort Leavenworth in 1855:

"The next most notable place of access to the Territory is Fort Leavenworth—the United States military post, a place of ancient memory. From Fort Leavenworth, there leads off two great military roads, one of them already noticed in conjunction with the California and Independence emigrant road, at Whitfield City and the junction of the Parkersville Road, at the same place. The other road from Fort Leavenworth is known as the Oregon and California Military Road, which connects with the Oregon and St. Joseph Emigrant Road, about 110 miles from St. Joseph on the Missouri River; from which junction the two run together and cross the Big Blue River at Marysville and unite with the Independence and California Road at Ten Mile Creek. Four or five miles above Fort Leavenworth is the great crossing of the River, at a steam ferry from the town of Weston, Missouri, to the Salt Creek Road, which connects with the military road three miles from Fort Leavenworth. We make Fort Leavenworth a station and meridian from whence to compute distance."

In 1857, A. G. Hawes says of the roads in the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth and Leavenworth:

"The incipient roads [railroads] terminating at this point have less immediate interest to the traveler or emigrant than the common roads which diverge hence, and the facilities for conveyance that are employed. In addition to the Government roads which concenter here, private enterprise has opened highways to all towns of importance not reached by these great thoroughfares. One of these leads to Lawrence, the second town in the Territory in point of size, and whose thrift and rapid improvement is remarked by every visitor; a road to Lecompton, the capital of the Territory and a growing city, has also been constructed; which roads, with their connections, afford a direct and ex-

cellent medium of communication with Tecumseh, the county seat of Jefferson County and Topeka, both of which are flourishing and progressive towns; also with Osawatomie, Neosho, and all the country south of the Kansas River. Besides these we have roads up and down the Missouri River connecting this point with Doniphan, Atchison, Kickapoo, Delaware, Wyandotte, and other points. It is fair to say that no point in the West is more amply supplied with roads and means of communication than is the two-year old city of Leavenworth. Subjoined is a statement of the various stage routes leading from this point, together with distances, proprietors, etc.

"*Leavenworth and Westport, Mo.*—A tri-weekly line of hacks, Kimball-Moore and Co., proprietors; distance thirty-two miles.

"*Leavenworth and Lawrence.*—Two tri-weekly lines of hacks, alternate days; H. Sutherland and H. G. Weibling, proprietors; mail tri-weekly; distance thirty miles.

"*Leavenworth and Weston.*—Daily mail coaches; Kimball-Moore and Co., proprietors; distance eight miles.

"*Leavenworth and Lecompton.*—Daily coaches; mail tri-weekly; Cass, proprietor; distance thirty-five miles.

"*Leavenworth and Fort Riley.*—Weekly mail and line of hacks passing through Salt Creek, Easton, Hardtville, Ozawkie, Indianola, Silver Lake, Louisville, Manhattan and Ogden; Fred Emery, proprietor.

"*Leavenworth and Atchison (via Kickapoo).*—Weekly mail and line of hacks; distance twenty-one miles. There are two express lines running regularly to this point from Saint Louis both of which are well known for their responsibility and promptness. Each of these companies has an office at Leavenworth, the agent for Adams and Co., being J. W. Skinner, and for Richardson's Missouri River Express, Rees & Keith. The latter company run a line of express wagons to Jefferson City, there connecting with the Pacific Railroad at times when the navigation of the river is closed."

In January, 1859, the telegraph was extended from St. Louis to Leavenworth, and during the coming spring, Jones, Russell and Co. started their Pike's Peak express from the city, carrying daily mails to that point and Salt Lake City.

The gold excitement was at a fever heat and Leavenworth reaped a temporary benefit. On May 21, 1859, a number of coaches arrived from the gold region and brought $5000 in precious dust to Leavenworth.

In the fifties, Fort Leavenworth was the general depot from which supplies were sent to all the military posts, camps, and forts in the great West from the Missouri River north, south, and west to the Pacific Ocean. These supplies were brought to the Fort on steamboats, of which there was a large number making stops at Leavenworth, Fort Leavenworth, Weston, and other river towns. From the Fort the supplies were sent across the plains in the trains of covered wagons.

Government transportation contracts, particularly for the supply of General Albert Sidney Johnston's army in Utah, were made by the famous firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, which had its headquarters in Leavenworth. Here it established stores, warehouses, and blacksmith and repair shops. Majors was the firm's manager on the Plains. He had been reared at Independence, Missouri, and was a practical driver of six or eight yoke of wild Texas longhorns. The financial and business manager was Mr. William H. Russell who spent most of his time in Leavenworth. Mr. Waddell was the financial backer and lived in Lexington, Missouri.

The valley of One-Mile Creek, better known as Corral Creek, on the Reservation, was at that time the center of rserve motive power for most of the transportation lines of the West, for here were corralled many thousands of oxen and mules belonging to the Government and to the transportation company. One of the travelers of the day, James F. Melines, thus describes the transportation:

"Returning to town (from Fort Leavenworth), I passed numbers of ox trains used in freighting merchandise to New Mexico. They are remarkable, each wagon team consisting of ten yokes of fine oxen selected and arranged not only for drawing but for picturesque effect, in sets of twenty, either all black, all white, all spotted, or otherwise marked uniformily. Each set of twenty oxen draws from 6500 to 8000 pounds and makes the journey from Leaven-

worth to Santa Fe at the contract rate of seven miles per day."

In an account of an overland journey from New York to San Francisco which he took in 1859, Horace Greeley gives the following impression of activities in the southern part of the Post:

"Russell, Majors, and Waddell's transportation establishment between the Fort and the city, is a great feature of Leavenworth. Such acres of wagons! Such pyramids of extra axletrees! Such herds of oxen! Such regiments of drivers and other employees! No one who does not see can realize how vast a business this is, nor how immense its outlay as well as income. I presume the great firm has at this hour two millions of dollars invested in stock, mainly oxen, mules, and wagons. (Last year they employed six thousand teamsters and worked 45,000 oxen.)"

Russell, Majors, and Waddell soon took over the coaching business which Jones, Russell, and Company had started. The organizing genius of the new firm soon had the Concord Coaches running with regularity and considerable speed. The terminus was changed from Leavenworth to St. Joseph and the Government mail contract schedule of nineteen days for the nineteen hundred miles between St. Joseph and Sacramento was clipped to fifteen days. In 1862, Ben Holliday, who in earlier days had been in business over in Weston, Missouri, bought the coach lines. The Government gave him the mail contracts and his lines penetrated every mining camp in the west. Many soldiers lost their lives in Indian fighting while riding guard with his coaches. The transfer of his business to Wells, Fargo, and Company, in 1866, involved nearly two millions of dollars.

It was this same transportation firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell in Leavenworth that in 1860 wrote the picturesque chapter into the history of American transportation, called the "Pony Express," enabling the fast mail time between New York and San Francisco to be cut from twenty-one to eleven days.

The year 1854 brought considerable excitement to the Garrison. There were the usual expeditions; one led by

Major Edward L. Steptoe, consisting of two companies of Artillery and eighty-five dragoon recruits, with the mission of finding a new route to California south of those usually travelled; another, more in the nature of a migration than an expedition, consisting of a large number of Army officers, several of whom were accompanied by their families, a large supply train, and many extra horses which went to Fort Union, New Mexico. Colonel Fauntleroy was in command with an escort consisting of two troops of dragoons. The trip was a long and difficult one and before they reached their destination, officers and soldiers had already begun to anticipate their return and to plan what they were going to do when they got back to "America" or when they reached the "States," as the settled part of the country was then called.

These events were all of great interest to the colony of families living at Fort Leavenworth, but the main topic of conversation centered around the admission of the new Territory of Kansas and the effect it might have on the Post and its mission. A brief review of the political history leading up to this period may be of use in assisting the reader to understand the events which followed. To quote from a summary of the report of the Special Committee of Congress appointed to investigate the troubles in the Territory of Kansas.

"In 1854, Congress passed an act establishing two new territories—Kansas and Nebraska—and instead of leaving the law against slavery in operation, or prohibiting or expressly allowing or establishing slavery, Congress left the subject in these territories to be discussed, agitated, and legislated on from time to time; the elections to be conducted with reference to that subject from year to year, so long as they should remain territories.

"Thus it was promulgated to all the people that Kansas was a clear field for competition—an open course for the race of rivalry; the goal, the ultimate establishment of a sovereign State; the prize, the reward of everlasting liberty and free institutions on one hand, or the perpetuity of slavery and its concomitants on the other.

"After organizing the Territory of Kansas, a large body of settlers rapidly entered. Most of these were from the free States of the West and North who probably intended by their votes and influence to establish here a free State, agreeable to the law which invited them. Some of those from the northern States had been encouraged and aided in this enterprise by the Emigrant Aid Society formed in Massachusetts, which put forth exertions by open and public measures in providing facilities for transportation to all peacable citizens who desired to become permanent settlers in the Territory.

"When the emigrants sent out by these societies passed through the State of Missouri in large numbers on their way to Kansas, the unmistakable indications of their determined hostility to the domestic institutions of that State, created apprehensions that the object of the company was to abolutionize Kansas as a means of prosecuting a relentless warfare upon the institution of slavery within the limits of Missouri. The natural consequence was that immediate steps were taken by people of the western counties of Missouri, to stimulate, organize, and carry into effect a system of emigration similar to that of the eastern aid societies, for the avowed purpose of counteracting the effects, and protecting themselves and their domestic institutions from the consequences of the operation of these aid societies.

"The difference in the character of these two rival and conflicting movements was that the one had its origin in an aggressive, and the other in a defensive policy.

"For the successful prosecution of such a scheme, the Missourians who lived in the immediate vicinity, possessed peculiar advantages over their rivals from the more remote portions of the Union. Each family could send one of its members across the line to mark his claim, erect a cabin and put in a small crop sufficient to give him as valid a right to be deemed an actual settler and qualified voter as those who were being brought into the Territory from eastern States by aid societies and those who came at their own expense. Those who came with no other intention than to procure a home were compelled, of course, for self protection, to array themselves on one side or the other."

On the day that the Territory was opened, there began a wild rush to claim land on the west side of the Missouri River. Groups and organizations were waiting, ready to set up a government, stake out their claims, and take immediate possession. Almost simultaneously, communities of Missourians from Weston, Platte City, and other nearby centers sent bodies of men swarming across the river to settle down in the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth. One group congregated to the north of the Fort to organize Atchison, one to the northwest to found Kickapoo, and one to the immediate south to establish Leavenworth. Almost overnight, Fort Leavenworth found itself changed from the only white settlement in what constituted the new Territory of Kansas, to a small detachment, strictly military in character, in the heart of a group of civilian communities. Naturally, the interest of the Post was centered on the town immediately to the south which would be its nearest neighbor. Settlers arrived in hordes. Tents, shacks, and log houses of the crudest character sprang up and every preparation was made looking to the establishment of a permanent town.

The legislation for the organization of the Territory of Kansas brought forth strong efforts to obtain the abandonment of the reservation of Fort Leavenworth. Failing in this because of the strong opposition of Secretary Jefferson C. Davis, interested persons further asked that the reservation be reduced in size. The War Department however would concede nothing more than that a survey should be made and the reservation restricted to lands actually required for military purposes. Accordingly, on August 9, 1854, orders were issued by Secretary of War Davis to the Commanding Officer of the Post, directing Captain Franklin E. Hunt, Fourth Artillery, "to have a survey made and a reservation laid off, including the buildings and improvements, and so much of the land as was necessary for military purposes, looking to its use as a main depot and cavalry station."

The former surveys of McCoy in 1830 and Johnson in 1839 had not been officially entered in the records in Washington. It had not been the custom, upon the location of military camps within territory occupied by roving bands of Indians, to define such camps by metes and bounds, because the Government recognized no title which might conflict with

its free use of public lands. For this reason, no steps had been taken up to 1854, to make any official designation of the boundaries of the Reservation. It was the discovery of this fact by The Adjutant General of the Army that caused the Secretary of War, Jefferson C. Davis, to order the survey to be made.

Captain Hunt proceeded at once to his task and on September 28, 1854, he submitted the following report:

FORT LEAVENWORTH
KANSAS TERRITORY

September 8, 1854.

Colonel:

I herewith inclose field notes of a Survey* made for a military reserve at Fort Leavenworth, in obedience to instructions received by me, dated Adjutant General's Office, Washington, August 11, 1854, and by this mail I forward a map of said reserve in Kansas territory. This is entirely independent of the reserve in Missouri, which I consider at present necessary to retain on account of the timber, ferry, etc.

It appears from records in the possession of Mr. J. C. McCoy, who assisted in making a survey, that in October, 1830, a reservation was laid off, the southern boundary of which commences and corresponds with it, with the exception of a slight offset, which you will observe running around the farm fence, containing a tract of about one hundred acres which lies in the Delaware lands.

The line was run in this manner to include, according to instructions, all the improvements; but as it is clearly land already assigned to the Delawares, and it is the only land in the reservation that can be claimed by any Indians, I would respectfully suggest that the straight dotted line across the farm field to be made the boundary, and that the assistant quartermaster at this Post be directed to move his fence to conform therewith.

The line thence continues with the southern boundary, but as the reserve, as formerly laid out, was much larger

*See Plat of the U. S. Reservation at Fort Leavenworth, 1854 in pocket.

than I considered necessary under my instruction, I only went out 2¾ miles on this line, and thence along the top of the bluffs as near as I could make a good boundary, to the Missouri River.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

F. E. HUNT,
Captain, Fourth Artillery,
Commanding Post.

COLONEL S. COOPER,
Adjutant General, U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

This report of the survey was submitted to the President who ordered that the area as designated be reserved from sale.

No sooner was this point settled than a third attempt was made to gain possession of the land, this time in the name of the Delaware Indians, who suddenly found themselves facing a situation which looked to them very much like an attempt to break the treaty of 1829. As early as 1848, they had sensed that this thing might happen and a council had been called in that year to discuss the matter. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act quite plainly threatened the territory of the Indians. They had definitely understood that Kansas and especially Nebraska would be theirs forever to hold as their hunting ground. Now the United States proposed to fill it with white people who were to settle and hold the land for themselves. Great unrest followed. Nothing definite had followed the council of 1848 and now they found their worst fears realized. They knew from long experience that opposition was useless, but a feeling had been created among the different tribes that the good faith of the Government had been in some way broken. They finally ceded the land in Kansas Territory (May 6, 1854), with the provision that the land which they had held should be sold for their benefit. The Indian Agent, George Manypenny, had the matter in charge, and during the arrangements to complete the treaty and protect the Indians in the best manner, he made certain claims to land on which the city of Leavenworth and Fort Leavenworth now stand. A con-

troversy ensued between the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of War, the officers of the Post, and the Indian Agent, Manypenny. The Agent claimed that the land included in the military reservation, although it had been in the hands of the War Department many years, was a part of the parcel of land given to the Delaware Indians, and that it should be sold for their benefit under the treaty. To make his contention stronger, he stated that the usefulness of the Post was past, and that Fort Riley, which had been built in 1853, was entirely adequate to serve all the purposes for which Fort Leavenworth originally had been founded. He also claimed that surveyor McCoy had not been authorized to set off a reservation for military purposes; that while the Delaware Indians may have assented to the use and occupation of the land by the military, the tribe had had no right to make such a grant. In conclusion, the commissioner asked, that if he were sustained in the view which he took, he would respectfully request that the War Department yield the possession of the land designated, and that it be surveyed immediately and placed on the market for public sale as the treaty provided.

These views were presented by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior who placed them before Secretary Davis. The Secretary of War, however, was not willing to surrender Government land, and his answer to the Secretary of the Interior forms an item of considerable interest in the history of the Post. His reply follows:

"An examination which I have just found opportunity to make into the claim presented by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his communication of the 9th of November, has satisfied me that the Delaware Indians have no right whatever to any portion of the Military Reservation at Fort Leavenworth.

"Cantonment Leavenworth was a military post some years before the Delawares had by treaty a home assigned to them in the adjacent country, and it does not appear from the terms of the treaty, or from the instructions given at the time by the Secretary of War to have been the intention of the Government to remove that military establishment to

make way for the Indians or to curtail it or dispossess it of such contiguous land as has been used or was necessary for military purposes of the garrison. Now the camp or cantonment, as its designation imports, was not an enclosed military work, but a collection of temporary buildings for troops, disposed without absolute regularity and with such considerable intervals that some of them pertaining to the Quartermaster's Department are understood to have been at least two miles from the flagstaff. If the Delaware line had been run, therefore, in the way you claim, it would not only to have cut off the most important and essential portion of the land pertaining to the Post but many of its buildings also which would have been in advance of the Indian boundary not to (as the treaty required), but through Cantonment Leavenworth.

"It is evident that the Government did not then contemplate under the treaty such a result or such a boundary as is now advocated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and it appears that the Delawares did not, as they seemed to have acquiesced in the survey made by McCoy of the reservation and have continued to do so for nearly twenty-five years.

"If the Commissioner be correct, however, in the position that McCoy transcended his authority and that his survey therefore in 1830 was illegal and void, this conclusion will not at all aid the claim of the Delawares to any portion of the reservation.

"On the contrary, it would, in that case, have more extended limits and the boundary of the Delaware lands would, under the rule established by the decisions of the Supreme Court, be removed to a distance of three miles in all directions from the flag staff, this being the points from which distances affecting the limits of the Military Post would be measured.

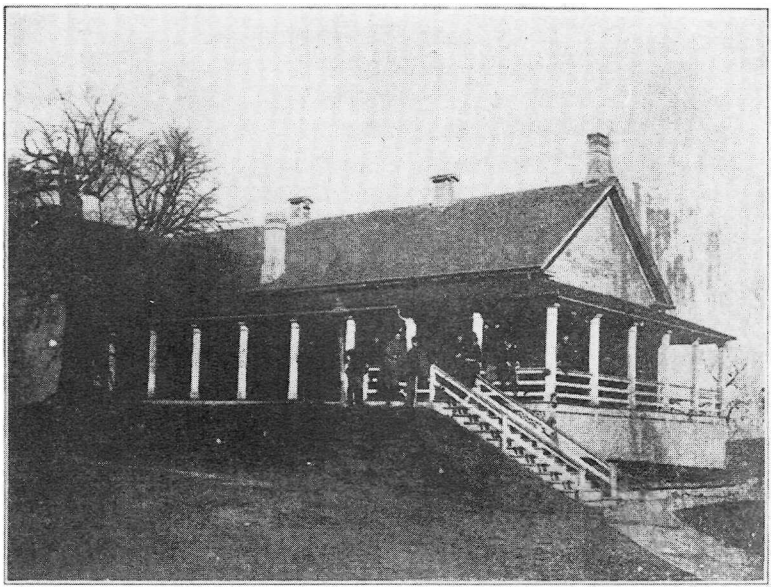
"With regard to the opinion advanced by the Commissioner, as to the expediency of abandoning Fort Leavenworth as no longer necessary for the Indian Service in that quarter, I will merely observe that the Post is maintained for other and more important purposes of which he is not deemed a proper judge."

This letter by no means closed the matter and it was not until seven years later that the decisions of the War Department in withholding the lands from public sale were upheld point by point by the Federal Courts.

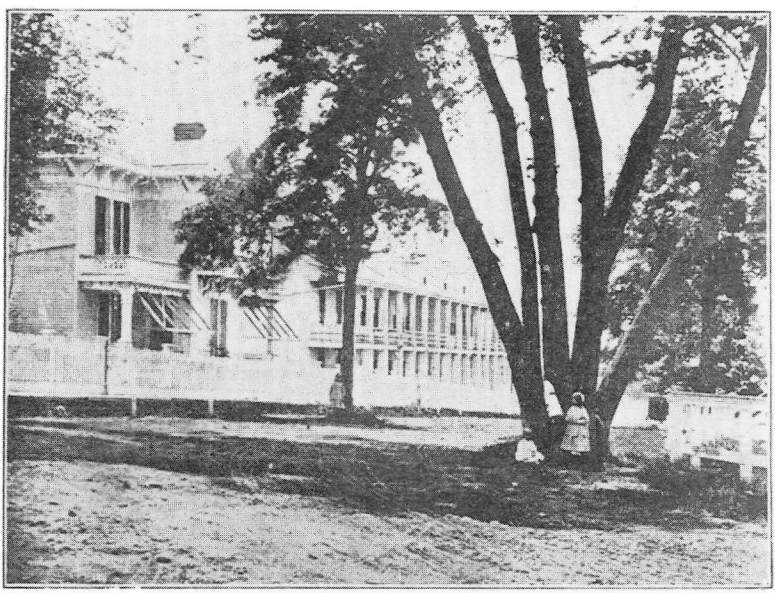
The company organized at Weston for the establishment of Leavenworth dates its formation on June 13, 1854, so it appears that Leavenworth is the oldest town in Kansas. Thus we find side by side—Fort Leavenworth, where the first group of white people settled in the Indian Country under the auspices of the Federal Government, and the city of Leavenworth which was organized twenty-seven years later as the first town in the new Territory. Major E. A. Ogden, Captain S. Macklin, and Mr. W. S. Yohe all represented the Fort in the membership of the company; Major Ogden was a member of the first Board of Trustees. In naming the new town the suggested name of Douglas was abandoned for the more appropriate one of Leavenworth. Major Ogden recommended that historical interests be preserved by giving Indian names to some of the streets.

The first public sale of lots occurred on October 9, 1854, and Major E. A. Ogden, Captain F. E. Hunt, Captain S. Macklin, Lieutenants W. T. Magruder, B. C. Card, R. C. Drum, S. C. Robertson, J. E. Johnston, and several other members of the garrison bought lots in the town. These purchases developed the antagonism of the Indian Agent who charged that all the officers at the Fort were actively engaged in urging settlers to establish themselves next to the Reservation; that the United States soldiers were being employed to build shanties; that all employees in the Quartermaster Department, and in the Pay Department had ulterior motives in grasping land for themselves and in threatening to drive off all the others who happened to want land in the vicinity. Letters were sent by the War Department to some of the officers named. It is sufficient to say that they were cleared on every point and that the Secretary of War added that he had no concern with their private enterprises and found them entirely innocent of any misuse of military authority.

The Governor, Andrew H. Reeder, sent out by Federal Authorities to the new Territory was anti-slavery and for that reason not entirely acceptable to many of the set-



THE FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS
(Stood on present site of Pope Hall.)



SYRACUSE HOUSE AND DRAGOON BARRACKS ABOUT 1871
(East side of Main Parade.)

tlers. In fact it was rumored that if he landed at Weston, where it was thought he might leave the boat, they intended to give him an unfriendly reception. The conspirators were disappointed however, for he arrived at Fort Leavenworth on Ocotber 7, 1854, on the steamboat "Polar Star," accompanied by his private secretary and Andrew J. Isacks, the United States Attorney for Kansas Territory. The *Kansas Weekly Herald,* which started publishing under an old elm tree on the Leavenworth Levee almost as the first town activity, said on its issue of October 13, that upon his arrival at the Fort, Governor Reeder was greeted by the National salute and that he became the guest of the Commanding Officer, Major Franklin E. Hunt. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, Major Hunt gave a reception for the Governor, which was largely attended by the new settlers from Leavenworth, Salt Creek Valley, and from miles around.

Congress had designated Fort Leavenworth as the temporary capital, but after a protest by the Secretary of War, who insisted that there was no available room for the Executive Offices, Congress finally decided to vote an appropriation looking to the establishment of a permanent capital. Nevertheless, in default of another place in which to conduct his work, the Governor actually opened offices at Fort Leavenworth on Ocotber 7, 1854, and conducted all of the executive work pertaining to the Territory of Kansas at the Fort until November 24 of the same year, which fact gave to Fort Leavenworth the distinction of being the first capitol of the Territory of Kansas. On November 24, Governor Reeder moved his office to the Shawnee Methodist Episcopal Mission, located in the vicinity of what is now Kansas City, Kansas. On July 2, 1855, the first Territorial legislature met at Pawnee, near the present site of Fort Riley. In a few days it adjourned to the Shawnee Mission. In August, Lecompton became the capital.

While at Fort Leavenworth, the Governor lived in a suite of rooms in a brick building on the east side of Sumner Place, and his executive office was located in a one-story brick building at the northeast corner of the same square (present site of Pope Hall). The Governor's room was a large one with the entrance steps on the side near the main traveled road.

The Governor's private secretary, John A. Halderman, described the furnishings as consisting of a few chairs, a writing table, some boxes filled with books and covered with newspapers for seating visitors, a letter press, a stove, and some other crude contrivances. The Governor took his meals with Hiram Rich, the Post Sutler and Postmaster.

In the meantime, Indian affairs were giving some trouble, unrest especially developing among the Indians on the Plains. For some years, the Sioux Indians in Nebraska had been robbing and killing whenever they found good opportunity. In August of 1855, a passing Mormon settler's train lost a cow from its herd. The cow strayed until her hoofs were nearly worn off and then fell down exhausted near an Indian camp. The Indians killed her but when the settlers learned of this, they were so indignant that they went to Fort Laramie and demanded that the Commanding Officer send troops to bring back the Indian who had killed the cow. A young and inexperienced Lieutenant, named Gratton, with thirty men of the 6th Infantry, was sent to the camp of the Sioux to arrest the chief.

The Indians met him and there was a parley concerning the demand. Finally, when the Indians persisted in their refusal, young Gratton fired upon the Chief and killed him. The result was a general massacre in which the Lieutenant and all his men were killed. The Government thereupon determined to restrain the increasing boldness of the Indians, and an expedition was organized at Fort Leavenworth with General Wm. S. Harney in command. The troops selected consisted of Light Battery G of the 4th Artillery, four companies of the 2d Dragoons from Fort Riley, four from Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, six companies from the 6th Infantry at Jefferson Barracks, three companies from Fort Laramie, and one from Fort Kearney. It is probable that more steamboats were employed to carry these troops than ever were employed before or since that time in transporting United States forces on the Missouri River. The cavalry was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel P. St. G. Cooke who began the patrol of the Platte River. In August, the command was joined by the infantry which had gathered from various sections. Within a month after Harney's departure, he met the Indians at Blue Water in Nebraska,

where he refused to parley with them. A fight ensued, with the result that eighty-six Indians were killed, many were wounded and made prisoners, and quantities of supplies were captured. The Indians were completely demoralized, but the troops were not ordered home until July, 1856.

The year 1855 was marked by extensive building operations at the Post. Congress had authorized additional cavalry, one regiment of which was to be organized at Fort Leavenworth. This necessitated additional quarters and many extra stables. Up to this time the work on buildings in the Post had been done by the soldiers themselves. Now all this was changed for the work was to be done by civilian laborers brought from the East. Colonel E. V. Sumner who was in command, while visiting relatives in Syracuse, New York, made arrangements with Mr. E. T. Carr to come to the Fort with a party of skilled workmen. There was to be a number of improvements—the construction of ten cavalry stables, frame barracks for six companies, and three double sets of quarters for officers. The cavalry stables were built on the upper end of McClellan Avenue. They were destroyed by fire in 1875. The frame barracks stood on the west side of the Main Parade where the brick barracks are now located. One of these was burned during the winter of 1881-82. The Officers' quarters which were built consisted of three double sets of quarters commonly called the Syracuse houses, two of which are still standing on the east side of Sumner Place. The third, which stood on the northwest corner, was burned in 1890.

Increasing travel to the northwest had developed a branch of the Oregon Trial which connected with the "St. Joe Emigrant Trail" west of Atchison, and farther to the northwest, merged with the main Oregon Trail. The branch trail was sometimes spoken of as the "Salt Lake Trail." Its route from Leavenworth led along the Fort Riley road to a point known as the "Eight Mile House," a famous early day inn and tavern kept by David Hurley. This tavern stood a short distance southeast of Lowemont. Here the trail branched off leading sharply to the northwest and entered Atchison County about four miles east of Potter.

On January 20, 1856, a letter from General Harney, dated Ponca Island on the upper Missouri, marked another attempt to abandon Fort Leavenworth. He urged that a new fort be placed on the west side of the Big Sioux River and contended that if that were done, it would fill all the requirements of guarding overland trade and might easily save money for the Government by the abandonment of Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth. No action was taken and the letter is chiefly interesting because of its failure to visualize the possibilities of this Post in the conflict which was already inevitable between the North and the South. Just five years after this letter was sent, Fort Leavenworth became one of the big concentration camps of the North and so continued during the Civil War, once more upholding the authorities at Washington, in their contention that the Post was being reserved for important purposes.

While stationed at Jefferson Barracks, in September, 1855, Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee came to Fort Leavenworth, to serve as a member of a general court-martial. He rejoined his regiment in 1856.

The commander of the Post at this time, Colonel E. V. Sumner, was commended on May 23 by Secretary Davis for preserving order zealously and for using his troops only as authorized and yet immediately after July 4 of the same year, Colonel Sumner was superseded in command by Major General Persifor F. Smith, who was sent here to command the Department of the West, Headquarters of which were transferred at this time from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth—this because Colonel Sumner was accused of too great leniency to free-state men. The difficulty arose because the Acting Governor of the State, Woodson, asked for help in disbanding a so-called "bogus legislature" which was to assemble in Topeka. Colonel Sumner insisted that he tried to enlist the civil authorities to aid the military, and that he tried to persuade the Town Marshal to issue the proper writs, but that Governor Woodson would have none of that, so Sumner went to Topeka and had no difficulty at all in dispersing the Legislature, which seemed to melt quietly away at the approach of the troops. Considerable harsh criticism was directed at Colonel Sumner by those who did not like the tame ending of the affair. By November 14, all the troops which

had been stationed in and around Topeka were withdrawn and affairs settled down to their normal quietness.

During the year, there were several raids and disturbances in Leavenworth which caused many residents to leave the town and take refuge on the Reservation. Bands from Missouri, constantly crossed the river and engaged in much loud talk accompanied with threats. This kept the vicinity perpetually upset and it frequently was difficult to convince the people of Leavenworth that they could dwell in safety in their own homes.

In spite of the seriousness of affairs and the feeling of apprehensive uneasiness that was present in the minds of officers and men, there were diversions and compensations for the garrison that helped to while away the anxious time. Lieutenant George D. Bayard of the 1st Cavalry, in a letter dated December 6, 1856, furnishes the following description:

"I have enjoyed myself during the holidays very well. There have been balls and parties without number and many pretty ladies from Weston, St. Joseph's, and other places. In short, life in Kansas is not so barbarous after all. There were two balls in Leavenworth City on New Year's eve. One was at the Planters House, and one at McCracken's Hotel, the former pro-slavery and the latter free-state. Most of the officers went to both, but as all my lady acquaintances were at the Planter's House I remained there. We left at five o'clock in the morning in order to go to reveille. I am told that even at the Planter's House there were more free-state ladies than there were pro-slavery ladies. All agree that the ladies from Lawrence fully maintained their reputation for beauty. The fact is the free-state settlers outnumber all others five to one, and there is about as little chance of this being a slave state as there is of my flying in the air."

In still another letter, he states with a touch of asperity:

"The army has been the scape goat throughout this whole embroglio. The pro-slavery men denounce it, because it doesn't do all they require of it, and the free-state men complain that it is merely here to help Kansas to become a slave state. I think neither party has any cause of com-

plaint against the army. The officers obey orders and keep the people from murdering and violence—and in my opinion act with great prudence and discretion. If it were not for the inter-position of the army here, there would be civil wars which would soon spread and involve the North and South in deadly conflict."

In the midst of this turmoil and unrest, there was plenty of activity for the soldiers and officers at the Fort. Expeditions continued to go out for various purposes—the Mormons were defiant, and trouble in Topeka furnished plenty of work for the soldiers who remained in the State.

During these days, a ten year old boy made frequent visits to the Post from his home over the hill in Salt Creek valley. He was keenly interested in the activities of the soldiers and sought work to help support his recently widowed mother. He was called Billy Cody. The wagon trains especially fascinated him and it wasn't long before he joined one of them as a boy helper—and so began the career of the famous plainsman, "Buffalo Bill."

In May of 1857, Colonel Sumner left the Fort with a considerable force to proceed against and chastise the Cheyennes who had been committing depredations on the overland routes through Kansas and Nebraska. This expedition was very successful in carrying out the object for which it was organized, but the suffering of the troops was unusual, even for a Plains expedition. There had been some error with regard to the sending out of rations and clothing from Fort Riley, and the wagonmaster was sent back, to find out where the rations were. In the meantime, the troops were in desperate condition, more from lack of clothing than from lack of food. A passing Santa Fe mail brought orders from the War Department to Colonel Sumner ordering him to send his force under Major Sedgwick across country to Fort Kearney to join the forces of General Albert Sidney Johnston who was then marching to Utah to put down Brigham Young's rebellion. Colonel Sumner himself was to report at Fort Leavenworth. The night the order came, the troops of the expedition against the Cheyennes held parade in spite of their ragged condition. Robert Morris Peck, who was a trooper with the expedition, describes the sergeant-major who formed the battalion for the dress parade, as being

dressed in a pair of moccasins, Indian leggins over a dirty pair of drawers without trousers, an old cut off stable frock for a shirt, no jacket, and a bandanna handkerchief tied around his head. His clothing was typical of that of most of the command. The troops were very unwilling to be separated from Colonel Sumner and he promised to use his influence to have them returned to Fort Leavenworth, since he felt sure that the people had no idea of their condition nor of the hardships they had undergone. He succeeded in this and the force returned to Fort Leavenworth in September, only a part of the wagon train going to Utah.

The second great expedition to leave Fort Leavenworth during this year was the expedition against Utah which was made necessary by the refusal of Brigham Young to hold himself in any way responsible to the United States. Polygamy had become a flagrant matter. The Mormons refused to recognize the authority of commissioners, governors, or representatives of the Federal Government; it, therefore, was decided to resort to force. Accordingly, the 5th and the 10th Infantry Regiments, the 2d Regular Dragoons, and a battery of the 2d Artillery were placed under the command of General Harney and were sent out under orders to put down the Mormon Rebellion. However, General Harney was removed from command, probably at the instigation of the Governor of Kansas, who insisted that the General was needed at Fort Leavenworth because of the troubled condition existing within the State. General Persifor F. Smith was placed in command. Within a week's time after his assignment, General Smith died at Fort Leavenworth, thus leaving the command of the expedition, which was already on its way, to Colonel T. L. Alexander. It further was decided to retain the 2d Dragoons in the Post because of the fear of Missouri border warfare.

The remainder of the expedition moved out on July 18. In the meantime General Albert Sidney Johnston had been ordered to take command; however, he did not arrive at Fort Leavenworth until the 11th of September. Six companies of the 2d Dragoons under command of Colonel Philip St. George Cooke were then suddenly ordered to act as an escort for Governor Cummings who had been appointed the unwelcome chief executive of Utah. Colonel Cooke worked

under great diffiiculties for he was given only four days to prepare for his march of one thousand miles. No sooner had General Johnston left the Post, on September 17, than he received rumors that Alexander had lost his supply train. This proved to be only too true, for the Mormons not only had captured the train but had burned all possible forage, and the troops were suffering from extreme hunger and cold. Under the most adverse conditions, Captain Randolph B. Marcy was sent to Fort Massachusetts in New Mexico for supplies.

As soon as news of this disaster came to the East, great excitement developed on every hand. Congress decided to spend money freely, and reinforcements to the number of four thousand were ordered to concentrate at Fort Leavenworth. By December, the Post again was filled with troops. A letter of the wife of an Army officer stationed here at that time says, "There are two thousand troops now at the Fort and we are very much crowded and will be until some of the cavalry and dragoons can be moved to Fort Riley. The express already has gone to Washington calling for more troops and we are all trembling in our shoes fearing that our better halves will be taken from us, as without doubt one regiment is destined for Utah in the spring. If they go, they will probably remain for years and we have no hope of joining them even if they are not cut off."

Other things were happening in and around the Fort during 1857, although the expeditions occupied the attention of most of the soldiers. In January, the *Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad* was organized, which promised a travel outlet from the Kansas plains other than the river. In the same month, a Free-State mob took possession of Leavenworth, driving practically all the pro-slavers out of the town. Crowded conditions in the Post itself was causing the Medical Department uneasiness, and attempts were made to improve conditions, which the Medical Officer on duty at the post described as follows: "The general police of the garrison is pretty good, better than it has been since I have been stationed here. Health and cleanliness render it imperative that some provision or arrangement be made which will enable the men to bathe in the winter season, when the streams are all frozen and water rather difficult to obtain. A proper

place should be provided for the laundries in the command, where all the washing may be done and the dirty water be conveyed out of the garrison."

General Harney again was placed in command of the reinforcements which were sent to Utah in 1858, and the Reverend Father De Smet was appointed by the President as Chaplain, Father De Smet, whose *Life and Travels Among the North American Indians* has furnished much material of interest to the student of the history of the Middle West, mentions the expedition as one of great interest and speaks at length of the generosity and fairness of General Harney toward the chaplain's duties and work among the men. The troops moved out in seven columns with a huge wagon train. No money had been spared to equip the expedition as completely as possible. General Harney and his Staff moved out first, and then followed in rapid succession on successive days: Colonel George Andrews with the 6th Infantry, Colonel Pitcairn Morrison with the 4th Artillery, Colonel J. Monroe with the 3d Artillery, Colonel Edwin V. Sumner with the 1st Cavalry, and finally Colonel Charles A. May and Major William H. Emory. By June 12, the troops were gone, the Post had settled back to its accustomed quiet, and life was reduced to normal. However, when the troops had marched no more than 480 miles from Fort Leavenworth, they received notice that the Mormons had submitted, so the relieving force was reassigned and part of it ordered back. The matter however was not fully adjusted until 1859. Horace Greeley passed through the Post at that time and wrote of having seen loads of officers' wives and children setting out to join their husbands who were still in Utah. The troops of the relieving force had been reassigned and did not leave for their new stations in New Mexico and Arizona until May, 1860, having remained all this time in camp, uncertain just what the final outcome in Utah might be.

One other important expedition left the Post in 1858 on a march from Fort Leavenworth to the Pacific Ocean. The troops were encamped at Camp Bateman south of what is now the United States Penitentiary, and had been preparing for the march since January. The force consisted of the

greater part of the 6th Infantry, and some detachments—a total of about 2000 men. The start was made on March 18 when two of the companies moved out as a part of the escort to a supply train for Utah. They were joined at Fort Bridger by two companies from Laramie, the whole force arriving near Benicia Barracks, California, on November 15.

W. T. Sherman came to Leavenworth about 1858 and joined a law firm which put out a sign reading, "Sherman, Ewings, and McCook, Attorneys at Law." It is a matter of interest that all four of the law partners became general officers during the Civil War. Thomas Ewings, Jr., and Daniel McCook attained the rank of brigadier general while Sherman and Hugh Ewings, attained the rang of major general. Sherman's particular law activities were connected with the western interests of his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Ewings of Ohio.

In his *Memoirs*, Sherman gave the following picture of contact with Fort Leavenworth:

"During that summer we got our share of the business of the profession, then represented by several eminent law firms, embracing names that have since flourished in the Senate, and in the higher courts of the country. But the most lucrative single case was given me by my friend Major Van Vliet [Major Stewart Van Vliet, Quartermaster at the Fort, and West Point classmate of Sherman's], who employed me to go to Fort Riley, one hundred and thirty-six miles west of Fort Leavenworth, to superintend the repairs to the military road. For this purpose he supplied me with a four mule ambulance and driver. The country was then sparcely settled, and quite as many Indians were along the road as white people; still there were embryo towns all along the route, and a few farms sprinkled over the beautiful prairies. On reaching Indianalo, near Topeka, I found everybody down with the chills and fever. My own driver became so shaky that I had to act as driver and cook. But in due season I reconnoitered the road, and made contracts for repairing some bridges, and for cutting such parts of the road as needed it. I then returned to Fort Leavenworth and reported, receiving a fair compensation. On my way up, I met Colonel Sum-

ner's column, returning from their summer scout on the plains, and spent the night with the officers, among whom were Captains Sackett, Sturgis, etc.".

The establishment of an Arsenal gave a new importance to the Fort in 1858. As early as 1855, the Chief of Ordnance recommended that Fort Leavenworth be made an ordnance depot to take the place of the one at Liberty Landing, Missouri. There had been a depot at the Post during the Mexican War with storerooms in the old Headquarters building standing at the northwest corner of Kearney and McClellan Avenues. The magazine was located in the center of Sumner Place. It was discontinued in 1849 and then the necessity for a new depot began to be felt. The Chief of Ordnance believed that the westward movement of the military operations of the country made the change from Liberty almost a military necessity, and Fort Leavenworth appeared to be the logical new location. An ordnance officer was directed to make a preliminary inspection and examination. As a result, in 1858, the Secretary of War authorized a small ordnance depot to be located at the Fort. In 1859, this depot was enlarged and in 1860 it was recognized as an arsenal and 138 acres in the southeastern part of the Post was turned over for its use. This area included the ground occupied by the plot which had been known as the "soldiers burying ground" since 1827, the year of the establishment of the Post. Orders reached the Fort late in 1860, directing the abandonment of the old cemetery and the establishment of a new one. Mr. E. T. Carr who had come to the Fort in 1855 to take charge of construction and who remained for many years as Superintendent of Construction in the Quartermaster Department writes:

"Soon after the establishment of the arsenal, came the order to remove the bodies from the old 'soldiers burying ground' to the present site, in order to make room for quarters for the commanding officer of the arsenal. In the early spring of 1861, by direction of Captain J. L. Reno, Ordnance Officer, then in charge of the arsenal, I made a contract with R. V. Fonda of Leavenworth, to remove the bodies to the site now known as the 'National Cemetery'."

The buildings now known as Sherman and Sheridan Halls constituted the shops and storehouses, and the building occupied for many years as the Quartermaster's office was the barracks for the ordnance detachment of thirty-five men. At the intersection of Scott and Pope Avenues, a massive iron gate was erected forming the main entrance to the grounds. To the left of the gate stood a small two-story guard house of brick and stone. The residence of the arsenal commandant, built in 1861, was occupied some years later by the department commander and later by the post commander. The arsenal was operated for many years in the manufacture of small articles of military equipment.

In 1860 another controversy concerning Fort Leavenworth lands developed. A new treaty had been concluded with the Delaware Indians in which provision was made for a portion of their diminished reserve lands to be allotted in severalty, not only to members of the tribes who were residing in the State at the time, but also to some absentee Delawares, dwelling with the southern Indians, if they should return to their people. This included certain of their chiefs whom the Government wished to reward in consideration of long and faithful services. Each was to receive a tract of land, to be selected by himself, likewise a patent in fee therefor from the President of the United States. The following year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed the Commissioner of the Land Office that the Secretary of the Interior had decided that the land lying between the Fort and the southern line of McCoy's survey belonged to the Delawares and had ordered the same to be surveyed. The chiefs were permitted to make their own selection and proceeded to squat on the Reservation having been advised to do so by "friends." Following such a selection, the Indians assigned their selected portions to a third party, one J. B. Stone. All the legal requirements were carefully complied with in this transfer, patents were issued and signed by the President and delivered to the chiefs or their agents and subsequently to Stone. In 1862 the United States filed a bill in the Federal Courts of Kansas against the Indian chiefs and Stone, requesting that the patents be declared null and void and delivered up for cancellation. The court granted the decree and the defendants appealed to a higher

court. The tribunal to which the appeal was taken affirmed the action of the lower court, and thus came to a close another attempt to secure possession of Fort Leavenworth lands.

The Fort had now come to a new period—the years of the struggle between the North and the South. The last few years had seen an amazing change in the surroundings of the Post, which a short time before had been the last stopping place before striking into the wilderness. The little

Commanding Officer's Residence in 1867.

(From a sketch made in 1867 by Mr. Hunnius, from the Augur Avenue side of the residence. At that time it was the residence of the Arsenal Commandant.)

isolated colony around the Main Parade had developed into quite a garrison, with neighbors on every side. Across the river, were the flourishing towns of Platte City and Weston; to the north was the fiery little town of Kickapoo with its violently pro-slavery newspaper; still farther north was Atchison, also southern in sentiment; and immediately to the south, was the city of Leavenworth with which the Fort was on very friendly terms. Social contacts between the garrison and its neighbors were frequent and pleasant. As Lieutenant Bayard expressed it, "Life in Kansas is not so barbarous after all." Steamboats plied up and down the Missouri River; the telegraph had been extended from St.

Louis to Leavenworth; quarters were comfortable (some of them indeed were considered exceptionally good for the day). There was plenty of transportation, because ever since the days of the Mexican War, large corrals of mules and horses had been maintained in the vicinity of Corral Creek. There was pleasant living and contentment. Nevertheless, in the background, there was a feeling that all this was too good to be lasting and that a change was bound to come, a change which would mean the breaking up of lifelong friendships, and possibly the division of the Nation.

CHAPTER VI

Fort Leavenworth and the Civil War

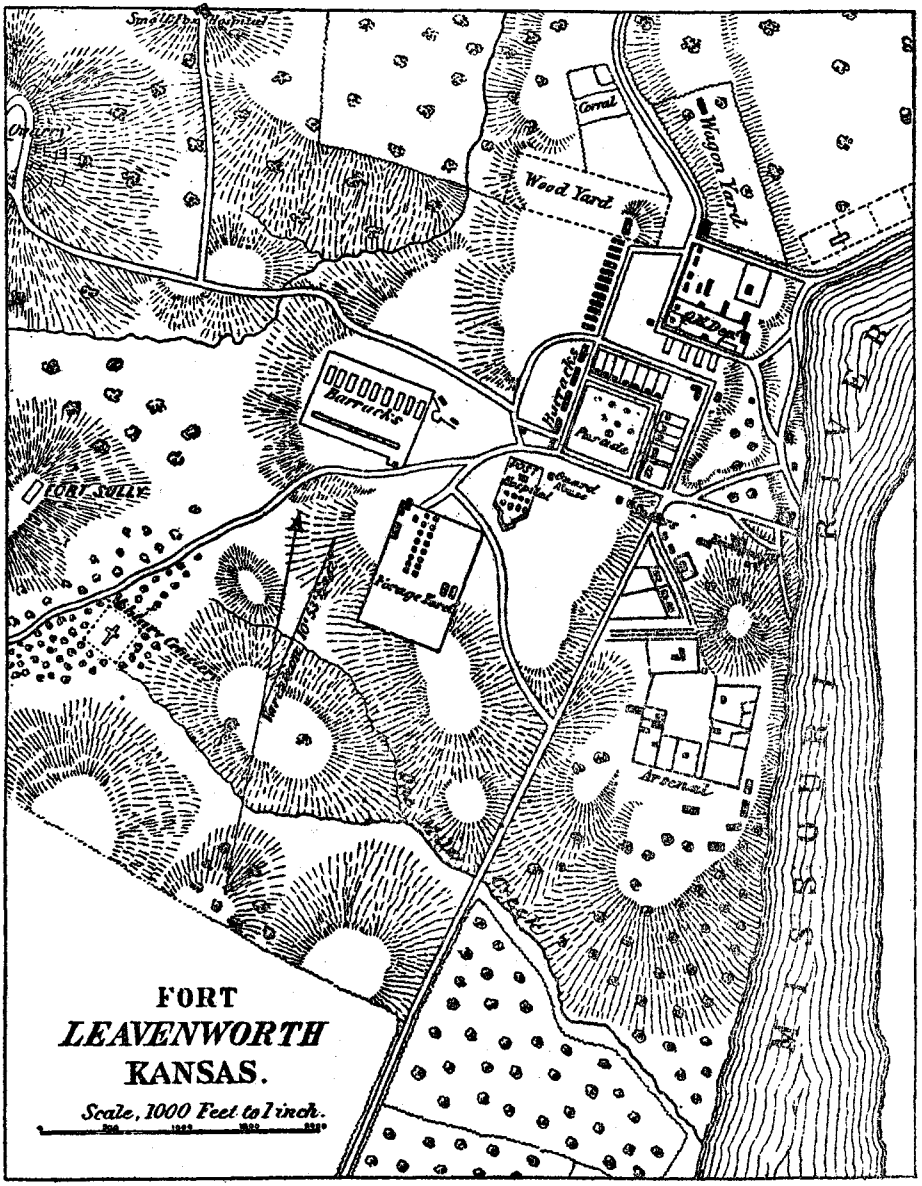
Throughout the Civil War, Fort Leavenworth played an important part. As a military station on the Missouri River, with the western counties of the State of Missouri in entire sympathy with the cause of the South, and with the eastern counties of Kansas directly opposed to the southern policy, Fort Leavenworth early came to the attention of both sides in the struggle as a post of strategic value. Its loss to the North would have been serious, and its capture by the South would have aided the Confederacy materially. Both sides were determined to possess it if possible. A communication dated May 20, 1861, and addressed to Jefferson Davis expressed at least one view of the situation. The document is published in the *Records of the Rebellion:*

"Kansas is controlled by a majority of poor, worthless, starving abolitionists who receive their support from donations of provisions from northern states, which are transported through Missouri and delivered to them on the banks of the Missouri River.—Missouri cannot be secured to the South unless the country west of it is taken possession of and held by the Confederate States. With six regiments from Arkansas and Texas and the forces that can be obtained from the Indian territory, I can seize and hold Forts Laramie and Wise, and Fort Union if necessary, and take possession of all military stores and munitions of war at other posts in Kansas and Colorado; and will destroy what will be of no utility, establish headquarters near Cheyenne Pass, and with the possession of Forts Laramie and Wise, cut off all communication between the northern states and the Pacific coast; and at the same time, acting in conjunction with Missouri, can *seize Forts Leavenworth and Riley and expel from Kansas the horde of northern vandals* that now infest it, opposed to our Government, and declare Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado a part of the Confederate States of America."

A month previous to the writing of this letter, conditions had assumed a status that gave considerable alarm to the authorities. The arsenal at Fort Leavenworth contained large quantities of ordnance stores—guns, small arms, and equipment—but the troops stationed there were negligible in number and would have been almost helpless in case of an organized attack upon the arsenal and the Post.

Brigadier General William S. Harney, in command of the Department of the West, fully realizing the seriousness of the existing condition, telegraphed Washington under date, April 8, 1861, as follows: "Under existing circumstances and in view of large amount of public property at Fort Leavenworth, I consider it very important that the garrison should be reinforced, and request authority to order to that post, two companies of artillery from Fort Randall and two companies of infantry from Fort Kearney." The authority was granted and two days later General Harney telegraphed Colonel Dixon S. Miles of the 2d Infantry, stationed at Fort Kearney, to proceed at once with the headquarters and two companies of his regiment to take station at Fort Leavenworth. He directed a similar movement of troops from Forts Randall and Ridgely in the Dakotas.

On April 20, 1861 the ordnance depot at Liberty, Missouri, was broken into by an armed body of men and the ordnance stores removed. When the people of Leavenworth received this information, they naturally were anxious, especially as a rumor immediately sprang up that an attack on Fort Leavenworth also was contemplated. They placed little reliance in the rumor, but as the Leavenworth Times of April 21, 1861, expressed it, "* * * they deemed it prudent to use every precaution to guard against such an assault being made, either at the present time or in the near future. Accordingly, Mayor McDonald and others visited the Fort and tendered to Captain William Steele the services of one hundred men to assist in its defense. The Captain thought there was no ground for apprehension and said the Regular troops under his command could easily protect the Post against a force of 5000, and that they were fully prepared to do so. He, however, accepted the offer of the Mayor, and the one hundred men were stationed at



Map of Fort Leavenworth Just After the Civil War.

the Fort last night. Captain Steele also gave the Mayor a large quantity of arms to be used in the defence of the city."

The following day, Captain P. V. Hagner who had been in command of the arsenal was succeeded by Captain Jesse Lee Reno. Captain Reno was much disturbed at the action which had been taken by the secessionists at Liberty, and a request was made to the Governor of the State of Kansas for aid until the troops already ordered to Fort Leavenworth from Kearney should arrive. Accordingly three volunteer companies in the city of Leavenworth, known as the *Leavenworth Light Infantry,* commanded by Captain Powell Clayton, the *Union Guards,* commanded by Captain Edward Cozzens; and the *Shields Guards,* commanded by Captain Daniel McCook with James A. McGonigle as First Lieutenant, were ordered to Fort Leavenworth where they served until the arrival of Colonel Dixon S. Miles, who assumed command of the Post on April 30, relieving Captain Steele. In the meantime, Colonel Miles had been beset by difficulties on every side. His own description of the march to Fort Leavenworth is sufficiently vivid to be of considerable interest. His command arrived at the Post on April 29, 1861. The next day he sent the following telegram to Washington:

"I have the honor to report that I arrived at this Post with my Headquarters, Band, E and F Companies of the Second Infantry, from Fort Kearney, on yesterday, having marched from Fort Kearney to Omaha in eight days and a half, a distance of one hundred and eighty-five miles, crossing by Deep Ford the Platte, and by ferry the Pawnee Loup Fork, the command consisting of one colonel, one adjutant, one regimental quartermaster, one captain, two first lieutenants, and one hundred and sixty-one rank and file.

"I was delayed at Omaha four days waiting the arrival of a boat. While there I received telegraphic dispatches that the citizens of Saint Joe intended to obstruct my passing and also to prevent the command from Fort Randall from passing. I was also shown a dispatch from the president of the St. Joe and Hannibal R. R., that the command could not pass over that road without meeting resistance, and that for fear of injury to the road he declined to trans-

port them. Hearing at this time General Harney had left St. Louis and the Department, I immediately assumed the authority to issue to the commander of troops from Randall the inclosed Order No. 1, and wrote to him the inclosed communication, which I hope will meet the approval of the Lieutenant General commanding the Army.

"I also made arrangements with a patriotic merchant at Omaha by the name of McCormick to hire wagons, advance subsistence and such funds as may be required for this command, taking sight drafts on the commissary and quartermaster at St. Louis, Mo. Please give orders to have these drafts met.

"The distance from Omaha to Marengo, where the railroad terminates, is one hundred and seventy-five miles, and which ought to be marched in eight days. The hire of wagons will be from three and a half to four dollars per day.

"On descending the Missouri, the captain of the steamer received a dispatch from the owner or agent of the line at Brownsville that the military at St. Joe consisted of a battery of four cannon and about two hundred armed infantry; that if I attempted to pass St. Joe I would be fired on and the boat injured; htat he must land the troops at Belmont, five miles above, and I could march four miles to Palermo, nine miles below St. Joe. I determined to do so to save the boat, but on arriving at Belmont an express arrived from the agent that the Missourians had relinquished the idea of at-attacking me, and that I would be permitted to pass unmolested, which I did without any demonstration whatever, having my men formed, muskets loaded, bayonets fixed, ready for any emergency.

"On my arrival at this Post, I found Captain Steele, Second Dragoons, had taken into service parts of three volunteer companies from Leavenworth City under Captains McCook, Cozzens, and Clayton, numbering one hundred and twenty rank and file. These troops I shall discharge today, believing my force at present sufficient to guard the public property at this Post against any rabble or detached secessionists formed or forming in this vicinity."

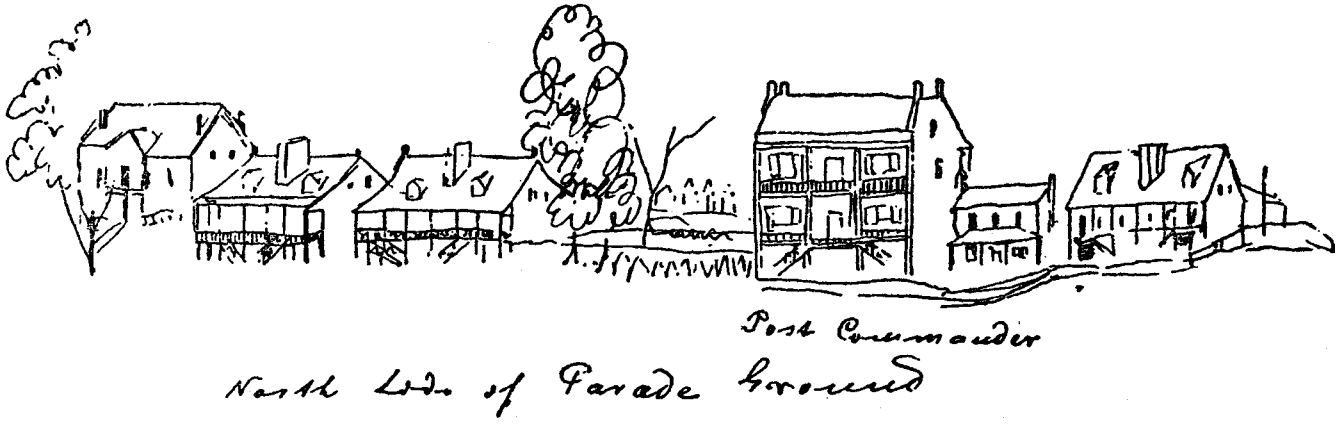
A month later, May 30, the troops from Fort Smith, which had been ordered to be abandoned early in the year,

arrived at the Post in command of Lieutenant Colonel William H. Emory of the 1st Cavalry. With him came Captains Samuel D. Sturgis, E. A. Carr, and W. E. Prince.

On June 2, 1861, orders were received at the Post directing Companies A and E, 1st Cavalry, and Company K, 2d Dragoons, with horses, to proceed without delay to Washington, D. C.

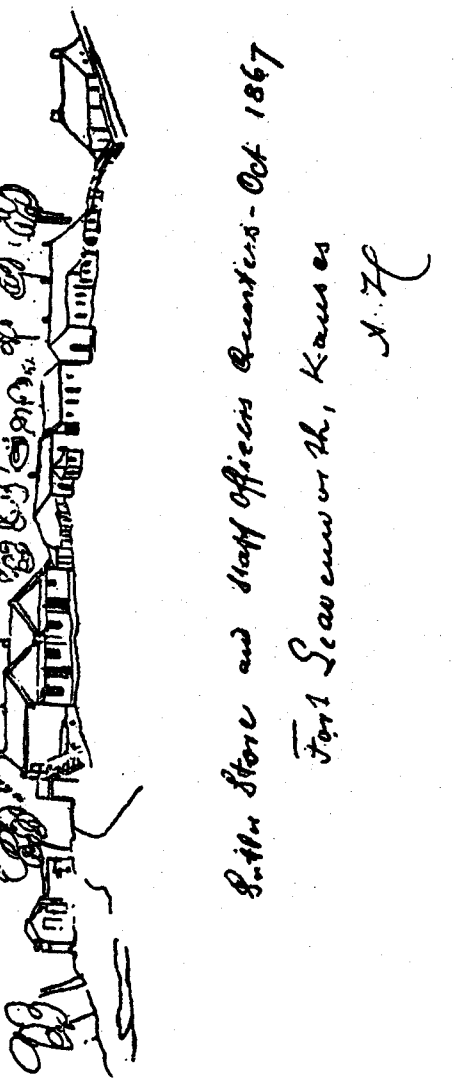
The day before the arrival of the troops from Fort Smith, a camp was established at Fort Leavenworth, which was named Camp Lincoln. From 1861 to 1865, many thousands of volunteers from Kansas and the vicinity came to this camp to be mustered into service for the Union, here to be equipped and trained, and after completion of their terms of enlistment to be returned to Fort Leavenworth for mustering out of the service. The first organization to be mustered into the United States service was the Steuben Guards under Captain Gustavus C. Zesch, a citizen of Leavenworth. The company were composed almost entirely of men of German birth who were members of the Leavenworth Turnverein. It became Company I, of the 1st Kansas Infantry. This regiment completed its muster in May of 1861. Of its companies, Leavenworth furnished five, two came from Lawrence, one from Atchison, one from Elwood in Doniphan County, and one from Wyandotte County. After several weeks drill, the regiment was sent by steamboat to Kansas City, from which place it marched to Springfield, Missouri, and participated, with heavy losses, in the battle of Wilson's Creek. The city of Leavenworth furnished many volunteers throughout the period of the war and a number of its citizens attained high rank.

The battle of Bull Run on July 21 chilled the enthusiastic confidence of the North. The Government felt discouraged by its lack of success, and a council of war was called. One of the subjects under discussion, was the question of the Territories and what was to be done with them. General Winfield Scott, then in command of the Army, insisted that the Government could not protect the East adequately and take care of the Territories, with the troops available at this time. He, therefore, recommended that the troops be withdrawn from the Territories, that the forts be abandoned, and all troops be concentrated in the eastern



North Side of Main Parade in 1867.

(From a sketch made in 1867 by Mr. Adolph Hunnius, who was chief draftsman of the Department of Missouri at the time.)



Sutler's Store and Scott Avenue in 1867.
(From a sketch made in 1867 by Mr. Hunnius.)

States. His arguments were so well advanced that his associates were convinced of the soundness of the plan and the order was actually issued. Fortunately for the preservation of Fort Leavenworth, Alexander Caldwell of the city of Leavenworth, who had the contract for the shipping of all Government supplies from this Post to the other western posts and military stations, on the receipt of the news of the plans of General Scott, hastened to Washington and enlisted the aid of influential friends in having the order changed. He laid the facts before the Assistant Secretary of War, pointing out the great resources of the West, its strength and its availability for the organization of great bodies of troops. The Assistant Secretary of War, was convinced and added his influence towards holding the Territories and not only keeping the posts garrisoned but increasing the number of troops in them. General Scott finally was prevailed upon to change his mind, and again Fort Leavenworth was spared.

In August of 1861, after the battle of Wilson's Creek in Missouri, the eastern part of Kansas became seriously alarmed lest General Sterling Price should make an attempt to capture Fort Leavenworth and make good his threat to "wipe Kansas off the map." A three-cornered controversy resulted from the various opinions of the Union authorities as to the best method of warding off the Confederate general who seemed such a terror to the section. Brigadier General James H. Lane, commanding the Kansas Brigade, Governor Charles Robinson of Kansas, and the Federal authorities at the Fort spent weeks trying to settle their differences and to come to an agreement. To meet any possible attack by the Confederates, Federal troops were placed at strategical points in the southern part of the State. Some of the Federal commanders did not deem the forces so assigned of sufficient strength, as is indicated by demands which were made upon the Commanding Officer of Fort Leavenworth for reinforcements.

General Lane seemed confident of his own plan, and on August 21 sent the following telegram to the Commanding Officer of the Fort:

"If you have reinforcements, or can get any, of men or artillery, send them forward. The point to defend Fort

Leavenworth is in the neighborhood of Fort Scott; say so for me to General Fremont and Captain Reno."

On August 22 he telegraphed again:

"Our little force will be actively employed to defend Kansas and confuse Missourians. But, Sir, I assure you that Fort Leavenworth and Kansas should be defended from this point and the idea of holding artillery to rust at Fort Leavenworth does not strike me with favor."

Captain William E. Prince, the Commanding Officer of the Fort at the time, placed the following indorsement on the message and forwarded it to General John C. Fremont at St. Louis:

"Lane's Brigade should be supplied with a battery of four pieces, caissons, ammunition, etc., which, with two pieces now in his command, will materially strengthen him; if approved please send them to this place at once."

Governor Robinson of Kansas, however, did not share General Lane's apprehensions and wrote to General Fremont on September 1 as follows:

"An effort is being made to get up a panic in our State and I am told that messengers have been sent to you representing a fearful state of things on our border. As some parties are interested to have war on our border, and consequently may not be impartial in their reports, I desire to say that we are in no danger of invasion, provided the Government stores at Fort Scott are sent back to Leavenworth and the Lane Brigade is removed from the border.—But what we have to fear and do fear, is that Lane's brigade will get up a war by going over the line, committing depredations, and then returning into our State. This course will force the secessionists to put down any force we may have, for their own protection, and in this they will be joined by nearly all of the Union men of Missouri. If you will remove the supplies at Fort Scott to the interior and relieve us of Lane's Brigade, I will guarantee Kansas from invasion from Missouri until Jackson shall drive you out of St. Louis."

General Fremont agreed with Governor Robinson and on October 4, 1861, ordered General Lane to fall back at once to Fort Leavenworth and to send all government supplies which might be at Kansas City, to Leavenworth by water, or destroy them in case there was no means of transportation.

Lane's inability to obtain reinforcements had caused him on October 1 to write to the President vigorously complaining of the lack of cooperation given him by the Governor and by the Commanding Officer at Fort Leavenworth. General Lane's difficulties appear to have been caused by uncertainty with regard to his authority. He had come to Kansas in 1855 and had been there but a short time when he was made a brigadier general of Militia. When Kansas became a State he was made a United States Senator. In June of the same year he was appointed a brigadier general of Volunteers. Some trouble ensued concerning the issue of a commission and in December he was reappointed. A commission was prepared at once, but it was cancelled in March, 1862, because Lane did not indicate his acceptance. He seemed, from lack of a definite status in the Army, to have been in frequent controversy with the military authorities of the West, while at the same time he appeared to have the support of the administration at Washington. The fact that he was holding at the same time the positions of United States senator and brigadier general, also complicated his status.

On November 11, 1861, it became known that General Sterling Price had left the State of Missouri and was in full retreat towards Arkansas. The confirmation of this report, relieved the anxiety of the Kansans and the people set to work in earnest to raise, organize, and train troops. Volunteers flocked to the Fort in thousands.

In the spring of 1862, Captain William E. Prince, having received his majority, left to join his new regiment. He was relieved as post commander by Lieutenant Colonel John T. Burris, 10th Kansas Infantry, who was assigned by the War Department. From the spring of 1862 to the spring of 1863, Colonel Burris was kept busy conducting expeditions into the surrounding country, under orders of the Department Commander. There was one into Platte and Clay Counties and three or more into Jackson, Lafayette, and Cass

Counties. From this time until the close of the war, the Post was in command of Volunteer Officers.

The shiftings of Department Headquarters during the next few years were so numerous and so confusing that it seems desirable to present an outline of the changes during this period. In 1856, the difficulties in Kansas which arose over the slave question made it necessary for Major General Persifor F. Smith, who was in command of the Department of the West with headquarters at St. Louis, to come to Fort Leavenworth from which place he administered the affairs of the Department. The Fort continued to serve as Department Headquarters until early in 1861, when St. Louis again became the headquarters. In the latter part of the same year, conditions in eastern Kansas seemed to demand the presence of a central military authority in that State. To meet the situation, a new Department was created which comprised Kansas and other western territory. This was called the Department of Kansas, and was placed under the command of Major General David Hunter. Headquarters was located at Fort Leavenworth. On March 11, 1862, President Lincoln directed that the Kansas Department be merged into that of the Mississippi with Major General Henry W. Halleck in command. Within that Department, General Halleck organized the District of Kansas, with Headquarters at Fort Leavenworth under the successive commands of General James W. Denver from April 1 to April 10, and General Samuel D. Sturgis from April 10 to May 5. On May 2, 1862, the War Department decided to restore the Department of Kansas and thus abolish the District of Kansas, and on May 5, General Asa P. Blunt took command. The direct result of this separation of the troops of Kansas and Missouri was not at all happy, owing to the frequent incursions of the Kansas troops into Missouri. Because of this difficulty, in September of 1862, it became necessary again to abolish the Department of Kansas and to assign its territory to the Department of Missouri. From the combined strength of these two departments, the "Department of the Frontier" was organized, with General Schofield in command, leaving General Samuel R. Curtis in command of a department with Headquarters at St. Louis. In November of the same year, the Department of Missouri was

divided into districts. Accordingly, the State of Kansas again became a District with Headquarters at Fort Leavenworth and with General Blunt again in command. On June 9, 1863, General Schofield, in command of the Department of Missouri, created a new "District of the Frontier," which was made up of Indian Territory and that part of Kansas south of the 38th parallel and it also included the western tier of the counties of Arkansas. In command of this District, he placed General Blunt with Headquarters in the field or at Fort Scott. He also created the "District of the Border" which comprised that part of Kansas north of parallel 38, and also the two western counties of Missouri north of the same parallel and south of the Missouri River. Brigadier General Thomas Ewing was placed in command with headquarters at Kansas City, Missouri.

Major Langdon C. Easton with station at Fort Leavenworth, was appointed the Chief Quartermaster for these two and other like districts which comprised Nebraska and Colorado. Difficulties soon developed between General Blunt and Major Easton. General Blunt claimed that Major Easton was Chief Quartermaster of his District and Easton claimed that Blunt should make requisition on him through the District Quartermaster. Strong language was used on both sides and an investigation was finally ordered into General Blunt's affairs with the result that he was removed by General Schofield from the Frontier District and ordered to go to Leavenworth City to await assignment. This same order placed General Thomas Ewing in command of all Kansas. General Blunt objected and refused to obey General Schofield because the latter was lower in rank than himself. In order to break the deadlock, General Halleck, by telegraphic orders, dated May 13, 1863, sent General Schofield to the Department of Missouri, which left General Curtis at St. Louis without a command of any kind. Matters hung fire until December 31, when the President sent a note to Secretary Stanton asking that a place be created for General Curtis, and on January 1, 1864, the Department of Kansas was again created with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth and General Sam Curtis in command.

In September of 1864, rumors began to be circulated that General Sterling Price with a large army was about to

make a second attempt to capture Leavenworth and Fort Leavenworth. The State was instantly aroused. The troops from Leavenworth were in the west pursuing Indians. General Curtis was recalled from the Plains where he had gone for temporary duty, and made his way back to the Post as rapidly as possible. The troops of course could not return at once, so call for an armed force was made on the Governor. Governor Carney responded quickly and called out all able-bodied men. General T. A. Davies was placed in command of the defenses around Fort Leavenworth and Major Franklin E. Hunt, who was stationed at Fort Leavenworth as paymaster and who had previous service in the artillery, was placed in charge of the defenses of the city of Leavenworth. Earthworks were constructed in the southwestern part of the Post overlooking every point of the city. Siege guns were planted and the position was named Fort Sully. To defend the City of Leavenworth, a long line of earthworks was thrown up along the general line of what is now Michigan Avenue.

General Price, who was the cause of all this excitement, had with him an army of nearly ten thousand men. Under him were Generals James Fagan, John S. Marmaduke, and the famous leader of Confederate cavalry, General Joseph O. Shelby. In mid-September of 1864, Price's Army had swept into Missouri from Arkansas and had fought and burned their way to Jefferson City, the State capitol. General William S. Rosecrans at St. Louis ordered General Alfred Pleasanton, with 6500 Regulars to pursue. In the meantime, Kansas and Missouri arose to repel the invader. Kansas City, Missouri, organized a home guard; trenches were dug around the city and guns were emplaced. In response to the call of the Governor of Kansas, Volunteers and Militia were quickly mobilized and these forces together with the available Regulars were formed into the "Army of the Border" with a strength of about 15,000 men. Under General Curtis, important commands were assigned to General James G. Blunt, Colonels C. R. Jennison, T. Moonlight, C. W. Blair, and J. H. Ford.

On the morning of October 22, 1864, General Price's Army left Lexington, Missouri, presumably on its way to Kansas City and Leavenworth. General Curtis prepared to

meet General Price in a decisive battle along the Big Blue River. However, he was forced to retire from this line, and during the night his forces occupied the intrenched lines of Kansas City. Price moved forward and occupied the Westport Hills. Before daylight on the morning of October 23, Curtis' troops moved into position, and all that day a severe action known as the "Battle of Westport" was fought on the terrain now occupied by the fine residences and golf clubs of Kansas City. By noon, Curtis had reached the high ground threatening Price's flank, and Pleasanton's men arriving on the field gave impetus to the general advance. Price was decisively defeated and his retreating columns were sufficiently disorganized to do away with further threats of hostilities. This important and decisive battle has been termed the "Gettysburg of the West."

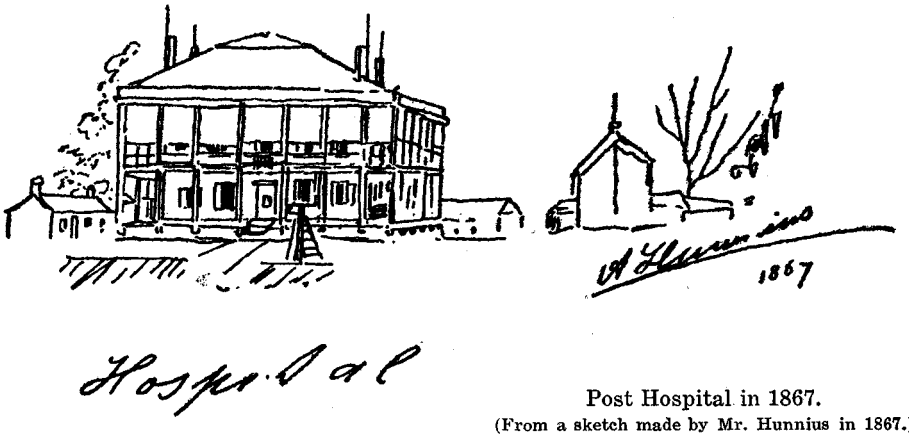
General Curtis left Fort Leavenworth on October 11; remained in the field thirty-eight days, marched nearly 800 miles, and returned victorious. Of considerable local interest is the account contained in the Leavenworth *Conservative* of November 18, 1864, telling of the rousing welcome that was given General Curtis on his return. General Davies with four hundred troops and a section of artillery met General Curtis two miles out of town. As soon as the General appeared in sight, a major general's salute was fired, the citizen escort fell into line, with Senator Lane, Governor Crawford, the City Council, the City Marshal, all taking part. The Curtis band preceded the column into the city, marched "down Delaware Street and up Main to Shawnee and to the Mansion House" (southwest corner of Shawnee and Fifth), where the General delivered an address.

In January, 1865, a change was made in administration and the Department of Kansas was merged again with the Department of Missouri, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, General Curtis in command.

In 1866, the geographical military limits of the military departments again were rearranged. In the spring, the Department of Missouri was divided—all the territory north of Kansas became the Department of the Platte with headquarters at Omaha and General Philip St. George Cooke in command. The rest of Kansas was designated as the Department of Missouri with headquarters at Fort Leaven-

worth under General Pope. In the fall of the same year, General Pope was relieved by General Winfield Scott Hancock.

The winter of 1866-1867 was much disturbed by Indian attacks against the outlying settlements, and by Indian depredations which interfered with the progress of the Kansas Pacific Railway, the line of which lay directly through the Indian hunting grounds. These outbreaks caused western travel to be suspended almost entirely during 1866 and 1867, so it was decided to send out fourteen hundred men against



Post Hospital in 1867.
(From a sketch made by Mr. Hunnius in 1867.)

the Indians. General Hancock, in command of the troops, started from Fort Riley, but before any decisive action could be taken, was transferred to the Fifth Military District (Louisiana and Texas). General Sheridan was ordered to assume command of the Department but remained on leave until March, 1868, while General A. J. Smith commanded. General Sheridan assumed command in March of 1868, but that same fall moved his headquarters to Fort Hays, Kansas, in the field against the Indians on the warpath and did not return to Fort Leavenworth. During the winter, he moved his headquarters to Camp Supply, Indian Territory, where he remained until March, 1869, when he was suddenly ordered to report in person to the President, the occasion being his promotion to a lieutenant-generalcy. Headquarters of the Department of Missouri

was moved to St. Louis again during the winter of 1869-1870. General Schofield was placed in command.

As the Civil War drew to a close, the Post found itself at the beginning of a new era. Within five years, it had become one of the recognized great military assets of the country. The City of Leavenworth had a marvelous growth and had become a welcome place of relaxation for the heretofore isolated people of the garrison. The community had its share of the thought and entertainments of the day. Abraham Lincoln spoke in the city of Leavenworth on December 3, 1859, the Leavenworth *Times* of that date carrying the item, "Hon. Abe Lincoln arrived in Leavenworth. Tonight he speaks at Stocktons." On December 2, 1863, John Wilkes Booth played *Richard III* at the Leavenworth Theatre. Colonel Burris mentions the special interest connected with a Fourth of July celebration of 1863 when the troops marched to Leavenworth and fired a salute in honor of the day.

Living conditions had improved at the Fort. As the Post grew larger, the question of sanitation became more pressing. The early supply of water had been obtained by the simple method of sending escort wagons filled with barrels and drawn by mule teams down to the Missouri River. There the water was dipped into the barrels by prisoners who stood on the wagon hubs, hanging on to the wagon with one hand and dipping with the other. Next, the water was dragged up hill and distributed to the water barrels in rear of officers' quarters and soldiers' barracks where the water was allowed to stand and become clear. In 1865, Colonel Joseph A. Potter, Depot Quartermaster, caused a pump to be established just north of the present location of the Fort Leavenworth bridge and a tank to be built east of Scott and south of Pope Avenues. The capacity was 21,000 gallons. A number of storage cisterns were established and filled from the tanks for use in time of drought. The water was distributed as before by water wagon from the tank to the barracks and quarters.

Taken all in all, Fort Leavenworth at the end of the Sixties, presented a picture of fair comfort, hard work, a disposition to make the best of things, and a desire to settle down after the years of busy war activity.